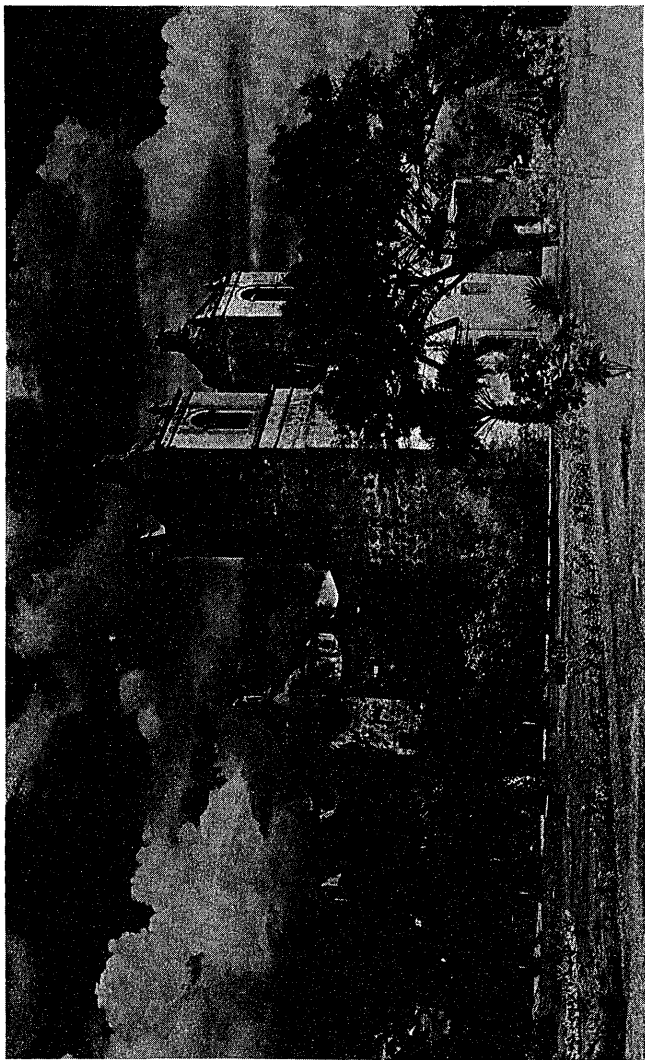


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EARLY EXPLORATIONS AND
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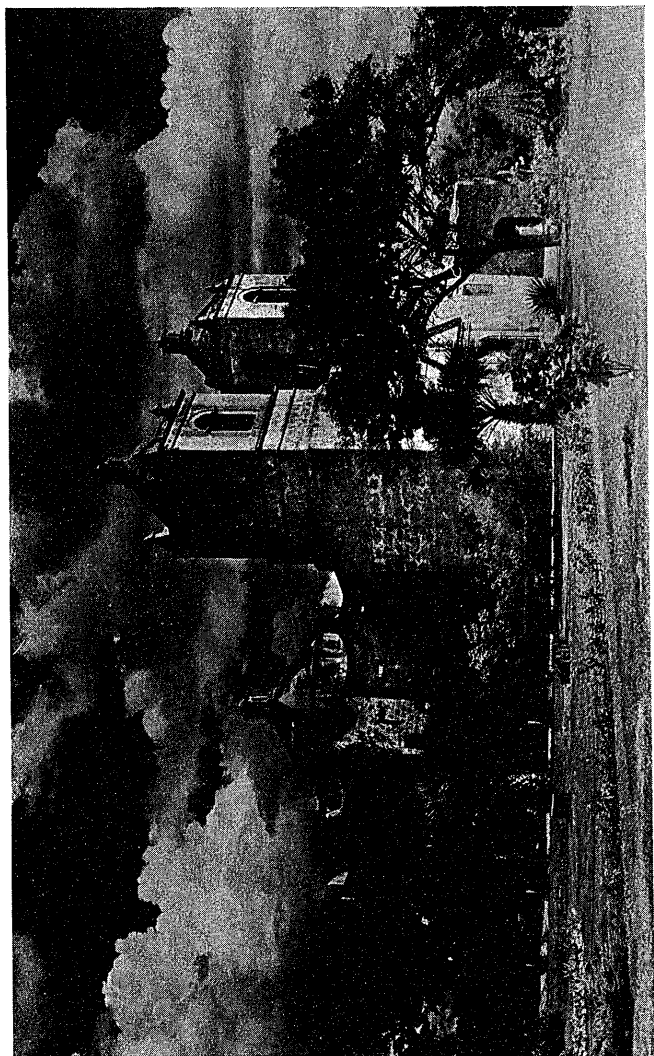
MISSION NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION DE ACUNA

EARLY EXPLORATIONS AND MISSION ESTABLISHMENTS IN TEXAS

BY
EDWARD W. HEUSINGER, F.R.G.S.

*Illustrated
With Original Photographs
Maps and Plans*

THE NAYLOR COMPANY
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS
1936



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Div 1

*This book is dedicated
to the memory of the Franciscan Missionaries:*

FR. DAMIAN MASSANET

FR. ANTONIO DE SAN BUENAVENTURA Y OLIVARES

FR. YSIDRO FELIX DE ESPINOSA

FR. ANTONIO MARGIL DE JESUS

FR. BARTHOLOME GARCIA

*and their many intrepid co-workers
who unselfishly gave their labor and their lives
that Texas might enjoy the heritage
of Christianity.*

INTRODUCTION

For two centuries after the discovery of America, Texas remained an unexplored and almost unvisited frontier province of Spain's far-flung empire. The reasons for this are not far to seek. First of all, Texas was almost inaccessible from the Spanish point of view. There were three possible ways of getting to it, each one less attractive than the preceding. The one by sea was over the totally uncharted Gulf of Mexico, which was rendered doubly difficult by the peculiar formation of Matagorda Peninsula and the bay it protects. The two land routes, one over from Florida and the other up from Mexico, were extremely long, and the former especially was very arduous as De Soto found out to his cost.

It is true that obstacles equally great had been met and overcome by the Spaniards elsewhere. But then the attraction had been commensurate. It was easy wealth in the form of gold and silver that lured on the conquistadores over storm-infested seas and through virgin forests and across trackless deserts. Texas, however, had no precious metal to offer. Some stories were indeed told of great treasures but when they were hunted down they were found to be groundless, most probably inventions of Indians who had their own ends in view.

It is also true that there were souls to save, but they were fierce and savage; besides, only the missionaries were interested in them and they were helpless without the active support of the civil and military authorities. These latter could not be moved except by considerations of a far lower kind. They wanted the territory and therefore they had laid

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claim to it; but in the meantime since there was nothing to be gained by settlement, they did not bother about it.

Only when their claim was challenged did they burst into activity, and then only so long as the danger lasted. The French were the only rivals they had to fear in this region. One fine day in 1684 the Spanish authorities were startled by the information that La Salle had landed in Texas and founded a colony there. Counter-moves were immediately set on foot. A mission was established in East Texas, not far from the scene of French activity, and efforts were made to cultivate the friendship of the Indians. The missionaries, as was always the case where they received whole-hearted co-operation, worked wonders. But soon the authorities in Mexico, learning the fate of the settlers at Fort Saint Louis, and convinced that no further undertakings were planned, concluded that the French were no longer a menace. Spanish official interest waned proportionately. The little colony on the frontier began to feel the effects of neglect. Seeing that no further aid was to be expected, and unable to cope single-handed with the difficulties of their situation, they found themselves forced to abandon the enterprise and return whence they had come. Texas again became a Spanish possession in name only and remained such for some years.

But then another Frenchman appeared on the scene. This time it was Saint-Denis, intent on exploring Texas commercially, disposing of his merchandise among the Indian tribes in which the Spaniards had been displaying no interest. Not lacking in hardihood, he made the Red River the starting point of his enterprises. Again the viceroy and

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his aides discovered in their bosoms a latent desire to help out the poor benighted natives. Explorations were undertaken and Missions were again established where they would do the most good, and presidios were placed nearby to protect them. The Indians, having their wants supplied gratis, were no longer interested in trading with the French. Saint-Denis himself was further discouraged by less equivocal means. These measures were effective. Again Spain's claims to Texas were undisputed by any European power.

So another period of lethargy set in. Well enough was left alone and in fact suffered to degenerate. But those meddlesome Frenchmen were not quite through. Again they appeared on the soil of Texas, bartering or giving away their guns and their liquor and their gaily-colored cloth. Agitation was again rife in Spanish officialdom. Missionaries long hardened to being put off or even insulted found themselves listened to with respect. Funds which previously simply could not be found were suddenly created by a stroke of the pen. Soldiers hitherto absolutely indispensable elsewhere or perhaps entirely non-existent suddenly materialized north of the Rio Grande. Again Texas was indebted, for a small measure of progress in cultivation, to the aggressive activity of the French rivals of its Spanish masters.

We learn two very interesting and instructive things, therefore, from the Spanish efforts at colonization and development of Texas. The first is that the motive of competition underlies all the history of early Spanish activity in Texas, whether it took the form of exploratory expeditions (*entradas*) or of permanent establishments such as presidios and missions. Writers and historians have studied the var-

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ious entradas in detail, and they have given full accounts of the individual mission establishments. The excellent results of their work have been amply described in monographs appearing as magazine articles or pamphlets. Such works, however veracious and informative they may be in detail, fail to give a unified impression of the whole. In fact, read separately, they tend to give the false impression that the various manifestations of Spanish activity in Texas were accidental and haphazard, instead of being, as they were, parts of a consistently followed policy.

The second point is that the Spaniards' method of at once keeping the French out of Texas and of rendering Texas safe for Spain, was to bring civilization to the natives, through Christianity. The military forces that accompanied the missionaries were sent not to conquer or to tyrannize over the Indians, but principally and even only as a protection for the missionaries and their missions.

It is with the view of bringing out these points clearly that Edward W. Heusinger has written this book. Here he presents a sequential account of the expeditions and of the permanent establishments. He has consulted many original documents in addition to general sources, and while he does not claim to have made an exhaustive study of the whole field, he has brought together a readable account of the beginnings of civilization in Texas. As such it will be found an entertaining as well as an instructive narrative.

JOSEPH W. SCHMITZ, S. M.

St. Mary's University,
San Antonio, Texas.

PREFACE

Of all the historical points of interest in the South, none surpass or are so attractive as the Missions of Texas, and although most of the establishments are in ruins, those that have been preserved, impress one most forcibly with their unique architectural design and construction. Then, too, they present an interesting phase in the early development of our country, and yet their history, to most people, is shrouded in mystery.

For many years the Author has been interested in and made a study of the cartography and early exploration of the Southwest and of the old Spanish Missions and settlements scattered through Texas. Researches into the history of mission establishments and material collected were made at intervals, as time permitted, in the years 1906 to and including 1915, but the opportunity to work over this material and revise it for publication in book form, such as is now presented, could not be found until recently.

A number of books on the Missions have appeared by various authors since these researches were made and much new material has been made accessible; however, no one has presented the matter in sequence, beginning with the first discovery of the land which now bears the name of Texas and the establishment of one mission after another, until their secularization, as has been done in this work.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that this book will be of value to the reader in furnishing a clear understanding of the mission establishments in Texas and at the same time be interesting and entertaining.

Attention might also be called to several Spanish words used to a great extent throughout this work, as *Padre*, meaning Father, and *Fray*, which

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is a contraction of *Fraile*, an appellation of respect addressed to members of religious orders. As *Fray*, abbreviated *Fr.* may mean either priest or lay-brother, the Author has deemed it advisable for a better understanding of the reader to use instead the title of *Padre* as a designation of a priest, except in the case of the French Recollect priests, who are called Father.

Other Spanish words which it will be necessary for the reader to understand are: *presidio*, a fortress garrisoned with soldiers; *pueblo*, an inhabited place—a town—a village; *villa*, a civil settlement which enjoys by charter special privileges; *Naciones*, Indian tribes; *ranchería*, an Indian settlement formed of one or more huts; *rancho*, a farm; *acequia*, irrigating canal; *cédula*, an order or decree; and *entrada*, to designate an expedition. Other Spanish words and native expressions used in this work will be explained in the text.

EDWARD W. HEUSINGER

San Antonio, Texas,
March 2, 1936,

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EARLY EXPLORATIONS AND MISSION ESTABLISHMENTS IN TEXAS

CHAPTER I

THE EARLIEST EXPLORERS

The early exploration of Texas presents a story of adventure as interesting as any which has come from the pen of our greatest novelists. In these expeditions romantic episodes succeed one another as chance and design, hardship and good fortune, cupidity and desire for fame, success and failure, are mingled in the warp and woof of the historical pattern until the intricate tapestry is completed. Here and there in the finished design are seen the gold and silver threads of the spiritual conquests of the missionary, for the combination of priest and adventurer is a common occurrence in all early Spanish exploration. Cabeza de Vaca, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, Alonso de León, and other explorers, together with their avaricious followers, pass before us in review with a tale of adventure and privation, their ambitions either buoyed up by hope and expectation, or cast down by disappointment and failure.

In 1519, the coast of the Gulf of Mexico from Florida to Tampico was explored by Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda. Pineda made this journey under the orders of Francisco de Garay, Governor of Jamaica, and the purpose of the trip was to map the country. Nothing of importance resulted from Pineda's efforts; there was no desire to colonize and, therefore, no attempt was made to settle the country. But Alvarez

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de Pineda was the first European to look upon that land which now bears the name of Texas.¹

CABEZA DE VACA

Credit for the discovery of Texas belongs through mere accident to the unfortunate Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. He wandered along the coast and lived with the Indians for six years. Before Cabeza de Vaca was through with his involuntary explorations he had completely traversed the North American continent, and thus became the first European overland traveler to do so, and the first person to observe and describe the buffalo.

As treasurer of an expedition under Governor Pánfilo de Narváez, he sailed from Spain on June 27, 1527, with a fleet of five vessels and a force of six hundred men. Narváez set out to conquer and govern the entire Gulf coast region from Florida westward. Disastrous storms were encountered at Hispaniola and Cuba, and these may account partially for the dissensions and desertions which took place. The company was reorganized, and with a personnel now reduced to about four hundred, sail was set for Florida. At the sight of an Indian village, near present Tampa Bay, the fleet anchored. The natives of this region fled at the sight of the party, and in their hurry left behind a small golden ornament which Narváez found. It kindled a hope of wealth and fame in the heart of this explorer and encouraged him to press on.

Governor Narváez now determined to continue the journey northward by land, so he sent the ships ahead with instructions to find a good harbor and await his coming. Cabeza de Vaca thoroughly dis-

¹ Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, II, 217 et seq.

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agreed with these plans but it was beyond his power to have them changed. The separation took place on May 1, 1528, but the reuniting of the sea and land forces was never effected.

The land party, consisting of about three hundred men, pushed northward with the hope of finding cities of fabulous wealth. After several months of travel, during which the party suffered from hunger and fatigue, the men were convinced that they had been deceived, since the rich cities that had been described to them proved to be nothing more than towns of clay huts, and so in August the idea of further progress by land was abandoned. A diligent search for the ships was fruitless as they had sailed back to Cuba.

The party was now located in northern Florida at a place that has since been identified with Appalachee Bay. Plans were discussed and it was determined to try to escape to Mexico; little did they dream that it was over a thousand miles away. Five rude barges of twenty-two elbow lengths each were constructed, and on September 22, 1528, the expedition set out to sea. Cabeza de Vaca in his narrative says:

We embarked in the following order. In the barge of the Governor there were forty-nine men, and as many in the one entrusted to the purser and the commissary. The third barge he placed in charge of Captain Alonso del Castillo and of Andrés Dorantes, with forty-eight men; in another he placed two captains . . . with forty-seven men. The last he gave to the inspector and to me, with forty-nine men, and after clothing and supplies were put on board, the sides of the barges rose one half a foot above water. Besides, we were so crowded as to be unable to stir. So great is the power of need that it brought us to

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venture out into such a troublesome sea in this manner, and without any one among us having the least knowledge of the art of navigation.²

For fully six weeks the barges were tossed about by the storms of the Gulf of Mexico during which time the men suffered terribly from thirst, hunger and exposure. The barges became separated, and the one commanded by Cabeza de Vaca was on November 6 stranded on an unknown island about a half a league wide by five long, situated on the northwestern Gulf coast.³

A few days after their landing Cabeza de Vaca and his companions met Andrés Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo, with all of their crew, who had become stranded on the Island the day previous. The partially reunited company, now totalling about eighty men, faced starvation. Times were troublous, for with the coming of winter, the cold weather added to the ravages of famine, and pestilence reduced their number to fifteen. The survivors now named their island *Malhado*, meaning misfortune. Even these fifteen were not to remain together; their presence became known to the Indians in the vicinity who killed some and made slaves of the remainder.

Cabeza de Vaca remained on the Island as a slave for more than a year. He then joined other

² Cabeza de Vaca, *His Own Narrative of the Journey*; translated by Fanny Bandelier, p. 40.

³ There is no island of this size on the Texas Gulf Coast today. However, many authorities claim that Galveston Island suits the description fairly well. See: Ponton and M'Farland, *A Preliminary Report of the Wanderings of Cabeza de Vaca in Texas*; *Quarterly*, Texas State Historical Association, Vol. I, p. 166; O. W. Williams, *The Route of Cabeza de Vaca in Texas*. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 54; Bethel Coopwood, *The Route of Cabeza de Vaca*, *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 108, 177, 229; Vol. IV, 1. Still others place the island on the coast of Louisiana. See: James Newton Basket, *A Study of the Route of Cabeza de Vaca*; *Quarterly*, Vol. X, 246 et seq. Still another conclusion presents itself. The island that Cabeza de Vaca landed on might have been one of the chain of islands along the coast of Texas and Louisiana, which through some seismic or other disturbance long ago disappeared.

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Indians on the mainland, and improved his condition a little by becoming a trader, and in this capacity remained alone with the Indians for the next five years. At the end of that time, in company with Lope de Oviedo, who still lingered on the island, he escaped from his masters, went down the coast to a bay which was one league wide, and here met some Indians who informed him of the whereabouts of three of the other survivors. These were Andrés Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo and a Moor named Estevanico. Cabeza de Vaca and Oviedo were roughly treated by these Indians, and they planned to escape, but Oviedo, fearing worse evils, refused to attempt an escape and returned to Malhado. Cabeza de Vaca soon met his other companions again, and in September, 1534, the four of them escaped from their Indian masters, and at once set out in a westward direction.

After some days of travel the party stopped and remained for the winter with some friendly inland tribes called the Avavares. Here they became known as "medicine men" because of the cures they performed; their fame soon spread to other tribes and when they recommenced their journey in a north-westward direction in the summer of 1535, their fame as wonder-workers had preceded them so that not only were they unmolested but their march was virtually a triumphal procession.

On April 1, 1536, the four transcontinental travellers reached San Miguel, in Nueva Galicia. Here they remained until May 15 when they were sent under an escort to Mexico where they arrived July 25 and were received by the Marqués del Valle. To the viceroy and to the inquiring people they gave a report of their travels; they related stories that they had heard while crossing the continent of popu-

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lous pueblos that abounded in wealth, situated somewhere in the north.⁴

These stories spread rapidly. They grew with each re-telling and were indirectly responsible for many journeys to the north as will be seen. Cabeza de Vaca soon sailed for Lisbon, where he arrived on August 9, 1537, and wrote an account of his journey. He was honored and made governor of Paraguay in 1540, but was recalled to Spain on some trumped-up charges and sent to prison for the next six years. Of his subsequent life little is known except that he died in obscurity like so many other Spanish explorers.

FRANCISCO VASQUEZ DE CORONADO

General Francisco Vázquez de Coronado was the next explorer to interest himself in the Texas country. Coronado and his followers set out to find the seven cities of Cibola near the present village of the Zuñi Indians in New Mexico, and in the course of their wanderings they penetrated the western Texas lands. This expedition was practically the result of Cabeza de Vaca's statements respecting the populous pueblos he had heard of, and so great was the interest taken by the viceroy of Nueva España, that he planned an expedition as early as 1537. However, these plans did not materialize and the entire project was temporarily abandoned. But when Coronado was appointed Governor of Nueva Galicia in 1539 it was at once decided that he should make a tour of inspection to the northern parts of his province, and search for the famed cities of Cibola. Plans for the trip were rushed to completion.

⁴ Frederick W. Hodge, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, 1-132. See also Fanny Bandelier, *The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca* in The Trail Makers Series.

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The expedition started from Compostela, on the Pacific coast, west of the city of Mexico, on February 23, 1540.⁵ A month later the party halted on the coast of the Gulf of California at a place called *Culiacán* where General Coronado reorganized his force and prepared for the difficult journey. All was in readiness toward the end of April and with a large force of horsemen, foot soldiers, natives, negro and Indian servants, together with pack mules and droves of oxen, cows, sheep and swine, the confident group started northward into unknown country.⁶

Coronado's march was not to be the triumphal procession of Cortez but rather a march filled with bitterness and repeated disappointments. The first difficulty was encountered when Cibola was reached; here the natives resisted Coronado and it was only after desperate fighting that an entrance was effected. Finding neither gold nor riches the men proceeded to the next pueblo, known as Tiguex, and only after giving battle did they force their way into this stronghold.⁷ Again they were disappointed, for nowhere in this pueblo could they find the precious treasures they sought. To add to their discouragement they were now forced to winter at Tiguex because the cold weather and the weakened condition of the men after the battle prevented them from continuing.

Meanwhile Coronado met an Indian slave, a native of the land of Quivira, who described his country as being rich in gold and silver, and situated far away to the east.⁸ His story captivated the im-

⁵ H. H. Bancroft, *History of North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 83.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Tiguex was a region near the State of New Mexico.

⁸ Quivira was located in the region of the great plains, the home of the Wichita Indians.

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agination of Coronado and his party, and they hoped that it might lead them to the famed center of wealth they were seeking. Accordingly, with the coming of spring, on April 23, 1541, he with his entire force started the march to the country of Quivira. The expedition departed from Tiguex and proceeded toward the plains for four days when they encountered a river which they named *Cicuye*⁹ after an Indian village that was situated some distance downstream. A bridge was built, the river was crossed and the journey was continued for ten days when some settlements of people who lived like Arabs were reached.

General Coronado and his army were now on the *Llano Estacado* or "Staked Plains" of Texas, where the Apaches and buffaloes roamed, for, according to the journal of Pedro de Castañeda, the historian of the expedition, we are told:

Here they saw the cows [buffaloes] for two days Several lakes were found at intervals: they were round as plates, a stone's throw or more across, some fresh and some salt. The grass grew tall near these lakes; away from them it was short, a span or less.

The country was like a bowl, so that when a man sat down, the horizon surrounded him all around at a distance of a musket shot. There were no groves of trees except at the rivers, which flowed at the bottom of some ravines There were paths down into these, made by the cows [buffaloes] when they went to the water It was impossible to find tracks in this country, because the grass straightened up again as soon as it was trodden down.¹⁰

Coronado was now two hundred and fifty leagues from Tiguex, and when he inquired about

⁹ The Pecos River.

¹⁰ Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, III, 65, 67.

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Quivira of the natives they told him that he was travelling in the wrong direction, that it lay far to the north. Evidently the Indian slave had deceived him, possibly for the sole purpose of leading him away from Tiguex. Provisions were running low and it would be difficult to march to Quivira with the entire party; still, Coronado, having come as far as he did, was determined to search for the country. He now chose thirty horsemen and six foot soldiers to accompany him in his search for Quivira, and he sent the rest of his army back to Tiguex to await his coming.

With other Indian guides the General now started in a northerly direction and after a march of forty-eight days Quivira was reached. Like the other cities this proved to be only a dream, for neither gold nor silver nor any other trace of wealth was found. Still undaunted, Coronado explored the surrounding country, only to be increasingly disappointed at his failure to find the mythical cities. Finally in the Spring of 1542 he returned to Tiguex where he met the rest of his army, and despondent and dejected, he returned to Mexico.¹¹

HERNANDO DE SOTO

The Coronado entrada originated in Mexico City and it was the first real effort that authorities in New Spain made to penetrate and investigate the northwestern frontier of the realm. Eventual conquest and occupation of this entire frontier resulted

¹¹ The narrative of the Coronado Expedition, written by Pedro de Castañeda, and the account given by Captain Juan Jaramillo, are remarkably accurate, and much more satisfactory than the narrative of Cabeza de Vaca. An excellent account of Coronado with interesting maps and a full bibliography can be found in the *Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, Part I, 329-613. See also Frederick W. Hodge, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, 273-387, and George Parker Winship, *The Journey of Coronado* in The Trail Makers Series.

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from efforts of this type, rather than from the great exploring parties, under daring leaders, that set out from either Hispaniola or Spain itself.

Still at the very time that Coronado was trying to locate the famed cities of Cibola, another adventurer, coming from the West Indies, was engaged in a similar undertaking. This was Hernando de Soto; he was the last of the great Spaniards of this period who attempted to conquer by methods other than the gradual northward expansion from Mexico.

De Soto, in recompense for services rendered to his king, was appointed Governor of Cuba, and was given permission to explore the whole country around Florida. He was named *adelantado* of this new land, and according to his patent, he had innumerable privileges in the land he was to conquer. Having been with Pizarro in Peru, he had had some foretaste of the joys of a conqueror; but he was less fortunate than some of his contemporary explorers; he had all the hardships, troubles and trials without any of the compensating rewards. In his wanderings, from 1539 until his death in 1542, this explorer treked around the territory bounded at present by the states of Florida, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee and Arkansas.

This land did not hold any accumulated wealth to satisfy the adventurers and so they failed to accomplish one of their primary ends. They also failed in their efforts to conquer the native Indians, for, since they were nomads, no permanent conquest could be made by them. The tribes inhabiting this region were still partly in the hunting stage, and De Soto could inflict only temporary inconvenience on them by destroying their huts and their crops, for the natives, being more shifty than

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the slow moving Spaniards, were in a position to continually harass them without exposing themselves.

Most of De Soto's followers were pretty well broken in body and spirit by the three years of wandering, the many encounters with the natives, the untold hardships of exploration, and the original number was soon reduced to about half. De Soto himself had by this time given up all hope of finding wealth and he now listened willingly to plans that called for the construction of two vessels to sail down the Mississippi river and return home. But De Soto was destined never to return either to Cuba or Spain; his health was failing, his body broken with fever, and his spirit could endure no more. The end was not far off, fever developed, and on May 21, 1542, just as the mouth of the Red River was reached, the great explorer died. His body was prepared for the last rites and then buried in the Mississippi.

The *adelantado* had fallen, but the wanderings of his followers were by no means over. Some were glad of the death of their leader since they thought that they would now set out for home at once. They accepted and swore to follow the leadership of General Luys Moscoso de Alvarado, whose appointment to that position by De Soto was the last administrative act of the great explorer.

Rather than build boats, Moscoso decided to find a new way to Nueva España, and struck out in the general direction of Mexico. They found the country to the south, the Hasinai Country, to be bleak and barren; since the harvest season was over there was not enough in the fields to sustain the travellers, and they decided to return to their former position, to build the ships they had so often spoken

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about and to sail down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico.

The winter of 1542 and the spring of 1543 were spent in preparation; all was in readiness by midsummer of 1543. On July 2 of that year, the army embarked in the seven brigantines they had constructed and descended the Mississippi. Within two weeks they had reached the Gulf; here they found the water to be forty fathoms deep, and rather than run the inevitable dangers of crossing this large body of water in small boats, they decided to hug the coast and travel westward until they reached their destination. They never had reason to regret their decision because tropical hurricanes forced them to seek the shelter of the coast before they had gone very far.

General Moscoso and his army were now on Texas soil, and here they stayed for fourteen days waiting for the storms to cease. Embarking again, the worn travellers reached their destination without further incident. It was September 10, 1543, when the stream of the Rio Panuco was reached, and here the natives informed them that there was a town of Christians fifteen leagues inland.¹² So pleased and so thankful were the men that "many, leaped on shore, kissed the ground; and all, on bended knees, with hands raised above them, and their eyes on heaven, remained untiring in giving thanks to God."¹³

¹² San Esteban del Puerto, founded by Cortez in 1522.

¹³ The whole story of Hernando de Soto is told by a Knight of Elvas, in a Relation by Luys Hernandez de Biedma, Factor of the Expedition, and in a diary of Rodrigo Ranzel, De Soto's private secretary. See account edited by Theodore H. Lewis, in the *Spanish Explorers of the Southern United States*, 127-272. See also Edward G. Bourne, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, 2 vols., in The Trail Makers Series.

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FURTHER ATTEMPTS TO EXPLORE THE COUNTRY

The daring expeditions of Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado and De Soto gave Spain nothing more than claims to the northern regions of her great western empire. No permanent settlements were made in this region as a result of these expeditions. Spain was content to claim the territory, and for the time being at least to leave the matter rest.

With the exception of Florida and New Mexico, Spanish settlements were all south of a line extending roughly from the lower Rio Grande region to the Gulf of California. Texas was destined to be settled as a result of a gradual northward movement from Mexico. This movement was a natural growth of expansion, although it was strongly stimulated by fear of the encroachment of a foreign nation on Spanish soil.

For a number of years after Coronado's journey no further effort was made to penetrate the North-eastern, or Texas region. However, in 1581, Padre Augustín Rodríguez with a party composed of two other Franciscans, some soldiers and a few Indian servants, some twenty in all, set out from San Bartolomé in Nueva Viscaya for the outlying provinces. When the Conchas River was reached, Rodríguez and his party followed it to the Rio Grande and came to some of the pueblos that Coronado had visited.¹⁴ Padre Rodríguez and his followers were, therefore, the next to set foot on Texas soil.

The expedition continued northwards and divided after it reached New Mexico; the Franciscan Padres remained there, and the soldiers returned to San Bartolomé. The courageous missionaries were

¹⁴ Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 76.

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shortly put to death by the pueblo natives, who proved to be an unfriendly tribe. Their fate was, of course, unknown to their fellow-brothers in Nueva Viscaya, but after some time, not having any communication from them, it was thought advisable to go in search of Padre Rodríguez and his companions.

Don Antonio Espejo led the proposed expedition and it got under way on November 10, 1582.¹⁵ They followed the same route that Padre Rodríguez and his companions had taken. Arriving at one of the pueblos the relief party learned the fate of the Padres from some of the natives. These, fearing that Don Espejo's object was vengeance, fled to the mountains.

The main object of the entrada having been accomplished, Don Espejo and his companions further explored the country and then started on the return voyage. A Pecos Indian was employed to show a shorter route for the return and he led them to the Pecos River, and thence across the mountains to the Rio Grande. Espejo having followed the Rio Grande and Pecos Rivers for a considerable distance and having traversed the Pecos country, was therefore the first to explore Western Texas.¹⁶

The second explorer of the Pecos country was Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, acting Lieutenant Governor of Nuevo León. He started on July 27, 1590, without obtaining a royal license, from a point somewhere in Nuevo León. Sosa wanted to take advantage of Espejo's discoveries, and gathered a relatively large force about him consisting of over one hundred and

¹⁵ Espejo was a rich citizen of Mexico who chanced to be sojourning temporarily at the Santa Barbara mines, and who for the sake of the adventure was willing to undertake the leadership of the expedition at his own expense. *Ibid*, 80.

¹⁶ An account of the voyage of Antonio de Espejo is to be found in Vol. III, Richard Hakluyt's *Voyages*. See also H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 161-195.

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seventy persons, including women and children. The expedition arrived at the Rio del Norte, as the Rio Grande was often called, and some time was spent there before striking out for the Pecos country. When they arrived at the Pecos River, it was crossed and re-crossed, as the party advanced—now on Texas soil—until a pueblo, having buildings several stories high, was reached. The surrounding territory was explored and the natives were “pacified.” Governor Sosa had reason to feel elated over the success of his expedition, when suddenly an unexpected event put an end to his explorations. Officers coming up from Mexico arrested Sosa, “put him in shackles,” and guards conducted him back to Mexico on the ground that he had made an illegal expedition.¹⁷

Following the entrada of Sosa, Juan de Oñate was appointed Governor and Captain-General of the entire province of New Mexico. He was installed in office in 1595, but because of his many activities, was prevented from visiting the southern part of his province until 1598. In that year he set out for the El Paso district with several hundred men, and arriving in that country he took formal possession of it and of “all adjoining provinces.”¹⁸ Oñate later made two expeditions to Quivira, in 1601 and 1611, and on each occasion crossed the Texas plains, but his expeditions are of no special interest as he did not tarry on Texas soil.

FIRST MISSIONARY EFFORTS

We next hear of Padre Juan de Salas, a zealous missionary of New Mexico. In 1629 a delegation of Jumano Indians visited him at Ysleta—near present Albuquerque—and requested that he come to

¹⁷ Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 100-107.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 127.

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their homes to minister to their people. On being asked why they desired missionaries, they told the story, now a classic in the lore of the Southwest, of the miraculous conversion of their tribes by a beautiful woman wearing the garb of a nun. This woman was subsequently identified as Mother María Jesús de Agreda, abbess of a famous convent in Spain, who declared that she had converted these tribes during a visit to America in ecstasy.¹⁹

Setting out with the Indians, and accompanied by Padre Diego López and three soldiers, Padre Salas went to a point more than one hundred and twelve leagues eastward, where he found many Indians. Here he stayed for some time, and convinced that it was a good field for missionary work, he returned to New Mexico to get aid so that he could establish missions among the Indians he had visited. But nothing came of the plan.

The Jumano Indians were visited again in 1650 by Captains Hernando Martin and Diego del Castillo. Pearls found on this trip became the basis for another expedition four years later by Diego de Guadalajara. Nothing came of the pearl trade as the jewels found were of little value, but trading in pecans and buffalo skins did develop. Regular trips between the Jumanos and New Mexico were made in developing this trade, and missionary activities kept pace with the commercial.

During 1662, Governor Diego de Peñalosa of New Mexico, who had recently come from South America, where he was credited with being a reck-

¹⁹ Mother María Jesús de Agreda frequently visited the Tejas Indians, her last visit having been made in 1631. Lilia M. Casis, *Carta de Don Damian Manzanet, Quarterly*, Texas State Historical Association, Vol. II, 311. See also Edmond J. Schmitt, *The Ven. María Jesús de Agreda; A Correction*, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 121-123, and John G. Shea, *Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States*, 81.

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of the original*

MANUAL

PARA ADMINISTRAR
LOS SANTOS SACRAMENTOS
DE PENITENCIA,
EUCCHARISTIA, EXTREMA-UNCION,
Y MATRIMONIO:

DAR GRACIAS DESPUES DE COMULGAR,
Y AYUDAR A BIEN MORIR

A los Indios de las Naciones: Pajaritos, Orejones,
Pacaos, Pacóas, Tilijayas, Alafapas, Paulanes y otras
muchas diferentes, que se hallan en las Naciones del
Rio de San Antonio, y Rio Grande, pertenecientes
a el Colegio de la Santissima Cruz de la Ciudad de
Queretaro, como son: Los Pacuaches, Mescalés,
Pampas, Tapanes, Chayopines, Venados, Pama-
que, y toda la Juventud de Pihuiques, Borrados,
Sanipaos, y Manos de Perro.

COMPUESTO

POREL P. Fr. BARTHOLOME GARCIA,
Predicador Apostolico, y actual Missionero de la
Mission de N. S. P. S. Francisco de dicho Colegio,
y Rio de San Antonio, en la Provincia
de Texas.

Impreso con las Licencias necesarias en la Imprenta de los Señores
Donna Maria de Rivera, en la Calle de San Bernardo, y esquina de la Plaza
de el Volador. Año de 1760.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

their homes to minister to their people. On being asked why they desired missionaries, they told the story, now a classic in the lore of the Southwest, of the miraculous conversion of their tribes by a beautiful woman wearing the garb of a nun. This woman was subsequently identified as Mother María Jesús de Agreda, abbess of a famous convent in Spain, who declared that she had converted these tribes during a visit to America in ecstasy.¹⁹

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less adventurer, in command of eighty soldiers and a large number of natives, accompanied by Padres Miguel de Guevara and Nicolás de Freytas, is said to have crossed the plains of Texas in his expeditions to Quivira. That Governor Peñalosa made this journey at all, is doubted by most historians, but that the Spaniards felt a great interest and desire to find the Kingdom of Quivira, can not be doubted.²⁰

Two years later Governor Peñalosa made an earnest effort to interest the authorities at Mexico in his projects of the northeastern conquest, but he became involved in a quarrel and was accused of talking against the church. He was sentenced in February, 1668 to march through the streets bareheaded, carrying a green candle in his hand. The following year he sailed for the Canaries, visited London, and finally turned up in Paris.²¹

In 1670 Padre Juan Larios and Fray Manuel de la Cruz, a lay brother, crossed the Rio Grande and gave religious instructions to the Jumanos. So friendly did Padre Larios find the Indians, and so desirous were they to receive instructions in the faith, that the good Padre stayed with them for three years.

Shortly after this Padre Larios was appointed *comisario misionero* of the region beyond the Rio Grande. This gave him an added interest in the territory, and since Don Antonio Balcárcel Riva de Neira Sotomayor, *Alcalde Mayor* of the province of Coahuila, was planning an expedition to bring about friendly relations with the Indians

²⁰ For an account of Peñalosa's journey see: John G. Shea, *The Expedition of Don Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa as described by Father Nicolás de Freytas*.

²¹ Bancroft, *History of North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 385-390.

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in the very territory that was now under his care, it was decided that Larios should accompany the party. On April 30, 1675, Fernando del Bosque, leader of the expedition, in company with Padre Larios and Padre San Buenaventura, set out for the Indian settlements beyond the Rio Grande. The journey was begun at the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe,²² crossed the Rio Grande and by May 23 several wooden crosses were erected to indicate title to the land. It was soon found out that there were so many Indians who desired to become Christians that the missionaries were unable to take care of all of them. When the expedition returned to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe this condition was reported to Sotomayor.²³

As a result of this report four missions were established in the Coahuila district; one for each of the four groups or confederacies which embraced tribes living on both sides of the Rio Grande.²⁴ Since this was the first well-authenticated missionary undertaking that reported conditions around the Pecos, it is often said that formal missionary expeditions into Texas started with this entrada.

In 1678 news was received that Peñalosa had proposed at the court of France an expedition against Mexico, to explore the provinces of Quivira and Tagago, the name of a country of Tegua and perhaps of Tigua Indians, in New Mexico, around which, as in the case of Quivira, considerable mystery arose among the Spanish writers of the seventeenth century.

²² Later known as the presidio de Coaguila; now the city of Monclova.

²³ *Journal of Fernando del Bosque, National Geographic Magazine*, XIV, 339-348. See also H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 281-309.

²⁴ Bolton, *The Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519-1690, Quarterly*, Texas State Historical Association, XVI, 15, 16.

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Reports of the geography of the country east of New Mexico were thereupon called for by the King of Spain, but by 1685, they had not been made. As it was feared that the French might settle along the Gulf coast without any knowledge of the Spaniards, the king issued another order, in which he quoted the former, and repeated the request for a report on the advisability of conquering the aforesaid provinces, and of opening up communication by way of the Bay of Espíritu Santo.

THE FOUNDING OF YSLETA

During this time, however, there had been an uprising of Pueblo Indians of the Tiguex and other tribes at their villages in New Mexico,²⁵ and the center of interest was transferred to the southern district of New Mexico in the region of El Paso del Norte, where a mission, known as Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, had already been founded in 1659, on the south side of the river.

Here the pueblo of Ysleta,—so named after old Ysleta and later known as Ysleta del Sur—was founded in 1680 as a refuge for the Spaniards and friendly Indians.²⁶ This settlement was located at a point twelve miles southeast of the present city of El Paso. Another settlement for the Piro Indians, called Socorro was established nearby. A mission at Ysleta, known as San Antonio de los Tiguas, and a parish church at Socorro, called Señor San Miguel, were subsequently built. The former establishment was used by the residents of Ysleta for many years, but its name was changed

²⁵ For details connected with the revolt, see: Chas. W. Hackett, *The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680, Quarterly*, XV, 93-147.

²⁶ H. E. Bolton, *Notes of Clark's Beginnings of Texas, Quarterly*, XII, 150-153.

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to Nuestra Señora del Carmen some fifty years ago. Its ruins were destroyed in a conflagration on May 15, 1907.²⁷

The possibility of establishing a thriving missionary field among the Jumano Indians next prompted Juan Domínguez de Mendoza and Padre Nicolás López, in company with two other Franciscans, to visit their villages in 1683-1684. In this entrada the country as far as what is now Ballinger was reached. At a stream called *San Clemente*, a temporary fort and chapel were built. During the stay of several weeks a number of Indians were baptized, and a large number of buffalo hides secured. The missionaries returned filled with enthusiasm concerning their new field. They set out immediately for Mexico City and told the viceroy about conditions there, and asked for permission to establish missions among the Jumanos. However, before action was taken on the project, news reached Mexico City of La Salle's settlement on the Texas coast. The Jumanos were now forgotten, and all efforts were turned toward driving the French from Spanish soil.

²⁷ See *Report for 1912 of the El Paso Chamber of Commerce*. For a further study of early missions and settlers in the El Paso district, consult Anne E. Hughes, *The Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District*.

CHAPTER II

ATTEMPTS BY THE FRENCH TO COLONIZE TEXAS

LA SALLE'S EXPEDITION

While the Spaniards were neglecting the colonization of their northern province of Texas and satisfying themselves with merely claiming it as a part of their vast domain, the French were actively engaged in occupying the country with the hope of getting some economic benefit from possession. The Frenchman Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, having sailed down the Mississippi in 1682, recognized the possibility of establishing a thriving trade with the natives living in the neighboring Spanish territory, and sailed directly to France to present his plans to the French Monarch. He wanted the French to establish a colony in the Gulf region, and with this as a center of activities they would easily introduce themselves into Spanish settlements of New Spain, aiming in particular toward the Spanish mines in northern Mexico.

Louis XIV of France approved these plans of La Salle; he was probably influenced by Don Diego de Peñalosa, a renegade Spaniard who had been at the French Court for some years, and who had formerly been governor of New Mexico. Peñalosa had conceived ideas similar to La Salle's, and there is little doubt that the plans of these two men were closely related.¹ However, if we are to believe Henri Joutel, a member of the party and historian of the expedition, La Salle landed on the Texas coast for two reasons: first, because the exact longitude of the

¹ E. T. Miller, *The Connection of Peñalosa with the La Salle Expedition*, *Quarterly*, Texas State Historical Association, V, 97-112.

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mouth of the Mississippi river—or Riviere Colbert as they called it—was not known, and second, because of the quarrels La Salle had with De Beaujeau, the commander of the fleet.²

Leaving discussion aside, the facts in the case are the following: La Salle, on July 24, 1684, set sail from France with four vessels: one, the *Joly*, a man of war of thirty-six guns; the second, a frigate called the *Belle*, carrying six guns; the third, the *Aimable*, a fly-boat of about three hundred tons burden; and the fourth, a ketch, called the *St. Francis*. Command of the entire fleet was given to Monsieur De Beaujeau, an old and experienced officer. About four hundred people made up the personnel, comprising many families, some soldiers, six missionaries of the Sulpician and Recollect Orders, and a number of girls matrimonially inclined.

The first leg of the voyage, over stormy seas that frequently drove the ships far apart, took the colonists to the Island of Hispaniola. Here La Salle was forced to prolong his stay due to severe fever that confined him to his bed. Here also, when a number of his men deserted, he had a foretaste of the many difficulties he was to encounter. And it was here, too, that a major disaster took place when the smallest of the vessels, the *St. Francis*, richly laden with provisions, ammunition, and many necessities for establishing the new colony, was captured by the Spaniards.

² Joutel's *Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage*. Most of the references in this section are taken from this journal. It is exact in detail and free from the egotism which weakens the narratives of so many of the early explorers. The journal was first published in French in 1713; an English edition appeared in 1714, which was reprinted in facsimile and privately issued by the Caxton Club of Chicago in 1896, in an edition of 203 copies. A limited edition of 500 copies, with a historical biographical introduction by Henry Reed Stiles appeared in 1906.

ATTEMPTS BY THE FRENCH TO COLONIZE TEXAS

Surviving these trying difficulties, La Salle on November 25 ordered that the three remaining vessels resume the voyage. There was some fear that De Beaujeau might abandon the *Aimable*, which was the worst sailer of the little squadron, so La Salle himself commanded it. After passing Cuba, a short stay was made at the Island of Pines, and on December 18 the vessels started out again. The Gulf was stormy, and the ships frequently lost sight of one another. La Salle was uncertain about the longitude of the mouth of the Mississippi, and, therefore, kept close to the shore and took observations every day; but despite his watchfulness he drifted far west of the river, and on January 13 he was coasting the shores of a country inhabited by Indians who could be seen on land.

This was in the neighborhood of Matagorda Island. A landing was made and La Salle tried to get some information about the location of the Mississippi from the natives, but it was hopeless, since they could not understand what he was asking. He determined, therefore, to explore the country northward while the vessels coasted along the shore in the same direction. The fleet did this for some days, while the friction between La Salle and De Beaujeau increased.

It was about this time that Cavillo Pass was discovered. Thinking that it connected with the river he was looking for, La Salle decided to enter the bay and explore. The entrance was sounded, stakes were fixed to mark out the way, "that the vessels might come safe in," and on February 20 La Salle gave orders for the *Aimable* to enter at high water, but "she was hopelessly wrecked on the bar." The men set about saving what they could and managed to get some powder, meal, wine, and brandy off the

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boat in the course of the day, but that night a storm arose and made a complete wreck of the vessel; what remained was washed ashore and much of it was stolen by the Indians. To add to the misery, De Beaujeau, who was always a thorn in La Salle's side, considering his work done, embarked in the *Joly* with "most of the best persons" of the colony and set sail for France, thus leaving La Salle with one boat, the *Belle*, to serve the entire colony.

FORT ST. LOUIS

The colonists now made the best of their situation. Salvaging what they could of the wrecked *Aimable*, they built a shelter for themselves and called it Fort St. Louis. When their immediate necessities had been taken care of La Salle determined to explore the surrounding territory and, if possible, find the Mississippi. Taking about fifty men with him he proceeded up Matagorda Bay to the Garcitas River and after following it for some miles he was convinced that it did not connect with the Mississippi. Still the entire trip had not been useless, because a spot suitable for a permanent settlement was discovered on the banks of the Garcitas.

All attention was now centered on moving to the new location; every one was put to hard labor cutting and squaring trees for the new building. The work was fatiguing and the food poor, resulting in great hardships and much sickness, which claimed thirty lives before the new quarters on the Garcitas were completed. This new structure, like the one it replaced, was called Fort St. Louis.

Having established the colonists at the new fort, La Salle spent the following winter looking for the Mississippi River. During his absence the settlers had their share of trials and difficulties; one man

ATTEMPTS BY THE FRENCH TO COLONIZE TEXAS

died from exposure, another from a rattlesnake bite, and still another from an operation, while several others were killed by Indians. La Salle's return to the colony in March merely added to the prevailing discouragement, since he had no news of the river. Almost immediately he set out again, and the colonists, once more left to themselves, became discouraged and despondent, quarreled with one another, and thus spent the remainder of the year 1686.

Explorations were continued, and after a year and a half, La Salle was no closer to the Mississippi than when he started. He had, however, in the course of that time learned a good deal about the adjoining country, and thinking he had finally solved his problem, he now determined to make one great trip that would certainly take him to his goal. So on January 12, 1687, he set out for the Illinois country, thinking he could reach the Mississippi in that way. In the party accompanying him there were several men of some importance, including his brother, his two nephews Moranget and Cavelier, Father Anastasius, L'Archeveque, Joutel the historian, Duhaut, Heins, Liotot, young Talón and others.

The expedition struck out to the north, cut through thick woods and crossed deep rivers, and made short pauses at Indian villages where the natives, remembering La Salle from his previous journey, entertained the party. Discontent, occasioned by two years of disappointment, was evident from the very beginning, and it was only the firm hand of the leader that prevented outbreaks of anger and kept the party on the march. By the time the party reached the Brazos, in the vicinity of present Navasota, there was almost constant friction between the men. While in this neighborhood, La Salle sent a small group to hunt for some supplies which he had

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cached in that region during the previous expedition. Moranget, La Salle's nephew, was with this group, and his passionate behavior so enraged the others that they murdered him.

THE ASSASSINATION OF LA SALLE

Several days passed and the party did not make its appearance at camp; La Salle became uneasy at their prolonged absence and determined to look for his nephew and the others. In company with Father Anastasius he set out and reached the camp of the rebel party. The conspirators, in order to escape the certain vengeance of La Salle, murdered him much in the same way that they had slain Moranget. He was shot through the head by Duhaut before he had a chance to defend himself, and before he knew what it was all about. Father Anastasius stood still from fright expecting the same fate, but he was told that he had nothing to fear. Duhaut and the rest now took whatever they found of value on La Salle's person, including his clothes, and then dragged his corpse through the bushes and left it to the wild beasts. Such was the unfortunate end of a great explorer. Joutel gives a good appreciation of him in his journal:

He had the capacity and talent to make his enterprise successful; his constancy and courage and his extraordinary knowledge in arts and sciences, which rendered him fit for anything, together with an indefatigable body, which made him surmount all difficulties, would have procured a glorious issue to his undertaking, had not all those excellent qualities been counterbalanced by too haughty a behavior, which sometimes made him insupportable, and by a rigidity towards those that were under his command, which at last drew on him an implacable hatred, and was the occasion of his death.

ATTEMPTS BY THE FRENCH TO COLONIZE TEXAS

Joutel and those who remained at camp heard of what had befallen their leader when the murderers, in company with Father Anastasius, returned. For a while they expected to meet a similar fate, but Duhaut had other plans. He assumed leadership of the band, tried to reorganize the members of the company, and talked of proceeding with the journey.

On March 28, 1687, camp was broken and the party went eastward to the villages of the Cenis and Nasoni for provisions, and there found two Frenchmen, named Ruter and Grollet, who had forsaken La Salle on his previous journey. Differences of opinion were constantly occurring; plans were advanced calling for a trip to the West Indies; others prepared to return to Fort St. Louis where there were still some twenty settlers whose future was anything but certain. But before any one plan could be followed Heins killed Duhaut in an argument over sharing the effects of La Salle; Liotot the chief surgeon, lost his life, and other irreconcilables deserted, including one L'Archeveque, of whom further mention is made later.

With the elimination of the principal troublemakers, the rest of the party, including Joutel, La Salle's brother, his nephew Cavelier, and Father Anastasius, reorganized and continued in the original direction. A long journey, filled with trials and troubles, finally brought these men to Montreal, Canada, on July 17, 1688.

DE LEON'S EXPEDITION OF 1689

It will be remembered that the Spaniards captured one of La Salle's vessels, the *St. Francis*, with its crew, off the coast of Hispaniola in 1684. From the French prisoners the Spaniards learned a little concerning the project of La Salle, and, alarmed at

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boat in the course of the day, but that night a storm arose and made a complete wreck of the vessel; what remained was washed ashore and much of it was stolen by the Indians. To add to the misery, De Beaujeau, who was always a thorn in La Salle's side, considering his work done, embarked in the *Joly* with "most of the best persons" of the colony and set sail for France, thus leaving La Salle with one boat, the *Belle*, to serve the entire colony.

FORT ST. LOUIS

The colonists now made the best of their situation. Salvaging what they could of the wrecked *Aimable*, they built a shelter for themselves and called it Fort St. Louis. When their immediate necessities had been taken care of La Salle determined to explore the surrounding territory and, if possible, find the Mississippi. Taking about fifty men with him he proceeded up Matagorda Bay to the Garcitas River and after following it for some miles he was convinced that it did not connect with the Mississippi. Still the entire trip had not been useless, because a spot suitable for a permanent settlement was discovered on the banks of the Garcitas.

All attention was now centered on moving to the new location; every one was put to hard labor cutting and squaring trees for the new building. The work was fatiguing and the food poor, resulting in great hardships and much sickness, which claimed thirty lives before the new quarters on the Garcitas were completed. This new structure, like the one it replaced, was called Fort St. Louis.

Having established the colonists at the new fort, La Salle spent the following winter looking for the Mississippi River. During his absence the settlers had their share of trials and difficulties; one man

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died from exposure, another from a rattlesnake bite, and still another from an operation, while several others were killed by Indians. La Salle's return to the colony in March merely added to the prevailing discouragement, since he had no news of the river. Almost immediately he set out again, and the colonists, once more left to themselves, became discouraged and despondent, quarreled with one another, and thus spent the remainder of the year 1686.

Explorations were continued, and after a year and a half, La Salle was no closer to the Mississippi than when he started. He had, however, in the course of that time learned a good deal about the adjoining country, and thinking he had finally solved his problem, he now determined to make one great trip that would certainly take him to his goal. So on January 12, 1687, he set out for the Illinois country, thinking he could reach the Mississippi in that way. In the party accompanying him there were several men of some importance, including his brother, his two nephews Moranget and Cavelier, Father Anastasius, L'Archeveque, Joutel the historian, Duhaut, Heins, Liotot, young Talón and others.

The expedition struck out to the north, cut through thick woods and crossed deep rivers, and made short pauses at Indian villages where the natives, remembering La Salle from his previous journey, entertained the party. Discontent, occasioned by two years of disappointment, was evident from the very beginning, and it was only the firm hand of the leader that prevented outbreaks of anger and kept the party on the march. By the time the party reached the Brazos, in the vicinity of present Nava-sota, there was almost constant friction between the men. While in this neighborhood, La Salle sent a small group to hunt for some supplies which he had

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cached in that region during the previous expedition. Moranget, La Salle's nephew, was with this group, and his passionate behavior so enraged the others that they murdered him.

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what they considered a serious menace to their land, informed the viceroy, the Marqués de Laguna of what they knew. The viceroy at once sent instructions to the governor of Havana to prepare a sea expedition and search for the French. A frigate was equipped and placed under the command of Juan Enrique Borroto, who sailed from Havana in 1686. He explored many of the inlets and bays along the Gulf of Mexico but could find no signs of the French. A second and then a third sea expedition was sent in the following years to make a more thorough search; fragments of La Salle's wrecked vessel were found, but the settlement on the Garcitas was not located.³

While these sea expeditions were in progress the viceroy, determined to leave nothing undone to get some information about the French, ordered the governor of Nuevo León to prepare a land expedition and search the Gulf region. Captain Alonso De León was given command of fifty men and told to explore the region from Tampico northwards. León proceeded to the coast and advanced to the Rio Grande. This river was crossed only with considerable difficulty and the party continued until they reached the mouth of another river—probably the Nueces—which they named Rio Solo. They were unable to cross this river, and the enterprise was abandoned. Soon after this Captain De León was sent on a second expedition, and this one was much like the first. The company, almost twice as large as the first, reached the Rio Solo without difficulty, but again they found it impossible to cross. Having heard nothing of the French settlement from the

³ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 413. H. E. Bolton, *The Location of La Salle's Colony on the Gulf of Mexico*, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, II, 165-182.

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natives in this neighborhood they were convinced that the report of its existence was unfounded and so returned, not having come near Espíritu Santo Bay or Fort St. Louis.⁴

The viceroy, the Marqués de Laguna, had made positive efforts both by land and sea, to locate the French, but his efforts were unrewarded, and in 1689 matters were much as they had been three years previously. Now, however, real information came. It so happened that Damian Massanet, one of the Padres residing at the Mission Caldera in the province of Coahuila, while carrying on his apostolic labors, came in contact with Indians who told him of strange white men who lived with the natives in the lands east of the Rio Grande. This intelligence was soon confirmed by a native of the Quems nation, who came to the mission and said that he had been in the very houses of the strangers.

Captain De León, who was now commander of the presidio of Coahuila, determined to investigate the truth of these statements. The Indian was sent sixty leagues to the home of the stranger, and succeeded in inducing him to come to a nearby *ranchería* where Captain De León and twelve men met him and experienced no difficulty in bringing him to the presidio. It was soon learned that the stranger was Juan Henrique, an old Frenchman and probably an early deserter from La Salle's colony.⁵

The viceroy was immediately notified and he ordered a new expedition to search for the French. Captain De León was again given charge of the undertaking which was to consist of one hundred

⁴ The only known document throwing any light on these two expeditions of Captain De León is the *Carta de Damian Manzanet*, *Quarterly*, II, 281. See also H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 345-387.

⁵ Manzanet, *Carta*, *Quarterly*, II, 281.

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men. Padre Damian Massanet was chaplain, and the Frenchman Juan Henrique was to accompany the group.

On April 2, 1689, the expedition crossed the Rio Grande and made rapid progress in a north-eastern direction until they reached the Guadalupe River. While encamped there and while they were discussing the best methods of approaching the French Settlement, an Indian was brought into camp by a scouting party. This was a real find because the Indian gave valuable information concerning the French. He said that the village of the Frenchmen on Espíritu Santo Bay had been attacked by the coast Indians about two months previously, that the fort had been plundered, and that all, excepting the few who had escaped, had been put to death. Furthermore, that four Frenchmen had been seen going northwards, to the Tejas Indians, just a few days before.

De León promptly set out to overtake these four. He was unable to cross the Colorado since it was at flood stage, and he learned from some of the Indians living in a village on its banks, that it would be difficult to overtake the party. As he was already a considerable distance from the rest of his company he determined to abandon pursuit, and instead to send a letter by an Indian informing the French of the good intentions of the Spaniards and asking them to meet the Spaniards at Fort St. Louis.

Captain De León, having dispatched the letter, now set out and arrived at Fort St. Louis on the Garcitas without further incident. Here all was quiet, deserted. There were six houses, none of them very large, a building where animals had been kept, and a two story fort, built from the timbers of a wrecked vessel. The chapel was located on the

ATTEMPTS BY THE FRENCH TO COLONIZE TEXAS

lower floor of this fort. Books, papers, broken weapons and odds and ends were scattered all about the premises. Not far from the buildings three unburied bodies were found; these were interred by Padre Massanet.⁶

Having surveyed the scene of disaster, De León determined to explore the surrounding country while waiting for the French to come. He examined the shores of Espíritu Santo Bay for some time and then returned to the fort where a letter awaited him. The letter was written in red ochre, had the signature of Juan Archbepe (Jean L'Archeveque) and said that they were delayed a few days while waiting for another Frenchman from up the country, but that the Spaniards should wait for them—that they would be there shortly.

Several days passed and still the Frenchmen did not appear, so De León with a few men went in search of them. They were found in the *ranchería* of the Taos Indians with the Tejas. Two of them, Jean L'Archeveque and Grollet, returned with the Spaniards, two others were distrustful and preferred to stay with the Indians. The Indian chief and several members of his tribe, being favorably impressed with the Spaniards, consented to accompany them on their return trip as far as the Guadalupe where De León's settlers were waiting for him.

FATE OF THE FRENCH COLONISTS

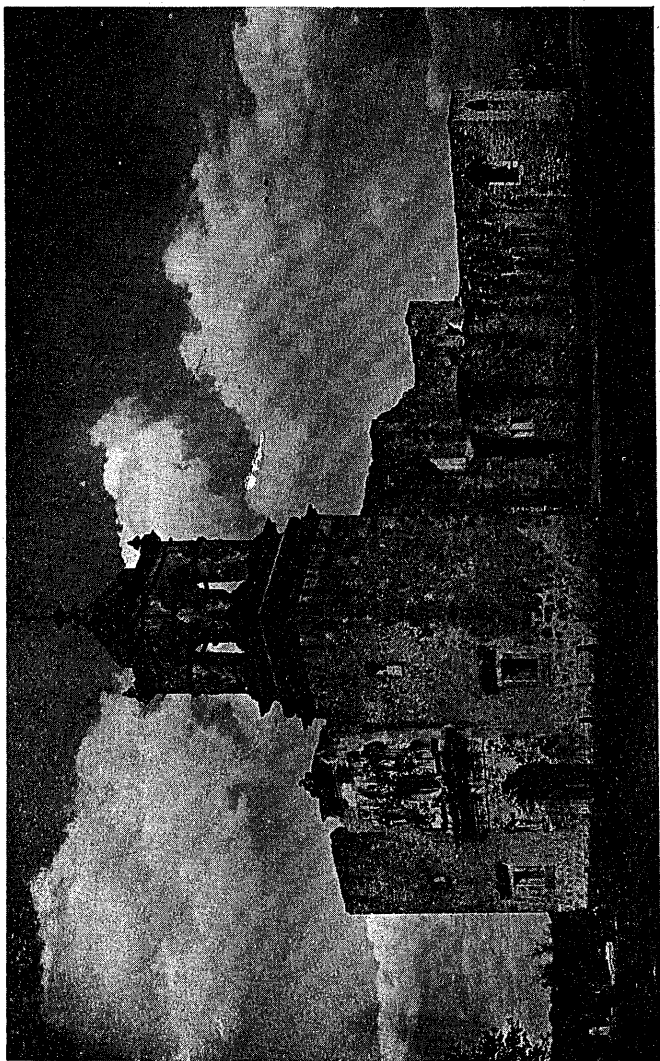
The detailed story of the fate of the colonists at Fort St. Louis was now learned. The months

⁶ Manzanet, *Carta, Quarterly*, II, 286-289. An unsigned *Carta que se da Noticia, de un viaje hecho y la Bahía de Espíritu Santo, Texas; y de la Población que tenían ahí los Franceses, Cuahuila 18 de Mayo, 1689*; B. F. French's *Historical Collections, Second Series*, p. 293, gives a similar account and says that eight pieces of artillery and three bodies—that of a man, a boy, and a woman were found.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

preceding the final catastrophe were trying ones; small-pox broke out and several of the colonists died; the future seemed uncertain; La Salle had now been gone for several months and no word had been received from him, and there were some who even doubted if La Salle could brighten their future. So, as the days passed, what little hope there was gradually faded. To make matters worse the colonists were unable to better their situation: to escape would be impossible, as an unending wilderness that held new dangers surrounded them, and to penetrate it would be folly; to attempt escape by the sea was worse. There was, however, one consolation—the natives were friendly. But this last comfort was soon taken from them. Suddenly and without warning of any kind the friendly attitude of the Indians changed. As if in keeping with a carefully laid plot, a band of warriors rushed from the place of their concealment on the river banks and attacked the colonists. It was all so sudden that the settlers were unable to defend themselves, and all of them were murdered outright save five, and these five were spared through the efforts of several Indian women. After massacring the settlers the Indians plundered the fort, breaking into chests and scattering contents all over the place, taking for themselves whatever struck their fancy, and destroying that for which they had no use. Four Frenchmen were absent when this horrible slaughter occurred, but hearing what had taken place they returned to the colony to view the destruction. They gave their comrades a decent burial, and then left the fort to live with some friendly Indians. It is there that they were found by De León.

When the Guadalupe was reached the entire force was reunited. From the very beginning Padre Mas-

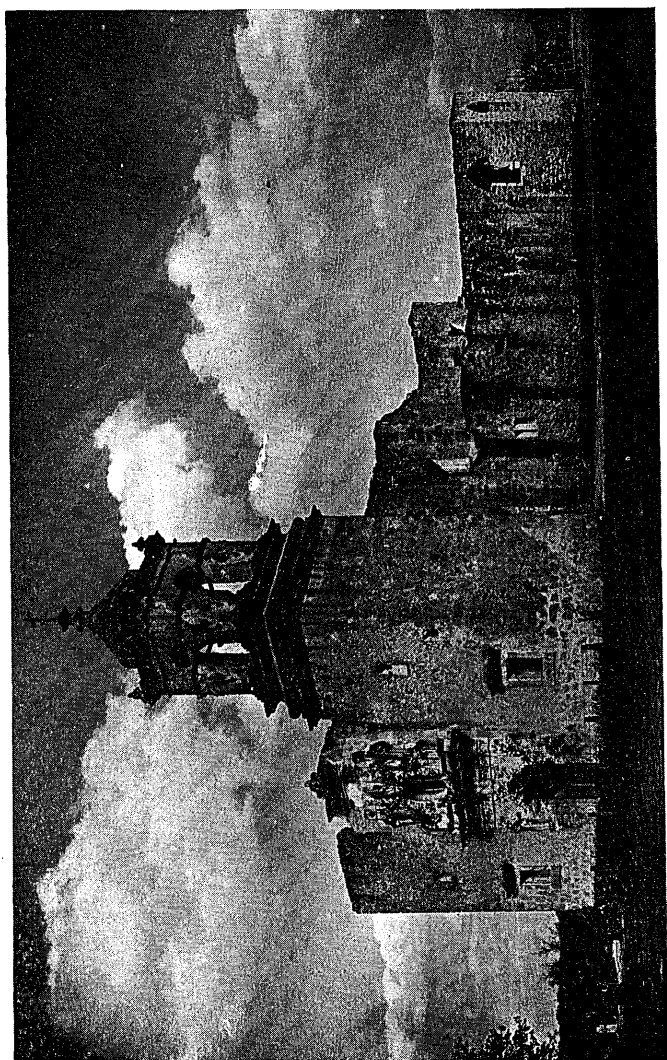


CHURCH AND MONASTERY OF MISSION SAN JOSE DE AGUAYO

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

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MISSION SAN JOSE DE ACHIAVO

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sanet struck up a friendship with the Indian chief, and in order to win his good will gave him many presents. The Padre then spoke to him of the Christian religion and tried to convince him that he and his tribe should accept the services of missionaries. The good Indian was very willing to have priests come and instruct his people, and so Massanet promised to return the following year and bring helpers with him.⁷ Thus the plans for the first Texas Mission were conceived on the banks of the Guadalupe.

On May 3, 1689, after the chief of the Tejas and his followers started for their lands, the De León party reorganized and set out for home. Nothing of importance happened on this return journey, and the presidio of Coahuila was reached on May 13, at nightfall.⁸ The two Frenchmen, L'Archeveque and Grollet, had been taken to Mexico. The viceroy provided them with suitable clothing and then sent them to Spain.⁹

The official report of this entrada set many tongues wagging in Mexico. Both De León and Padre Massanet were anxious to start on another journey to Texas, and each one stressed the points that appealed most to himself. De León gave the story of the French colony at Espíritu Santo Bay—it made an interesting narrative—and urged the need of further and wider explorations, because, so he said, reports had it that there was another French colony to the north. Maybe De León exaggerated the facts somewhat in his desire to encourage an-

⁷ Manzanet, *Carta, Quarterly*, II, 290.

⁸ Elizabeth H. West, *De León's Expedition of 1689, Quarterly*, Texas State Historical Association, VIII, 213-214. See also H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 388-404.

⁹ For an interesting account of the return of L'Archeveque to this country see A. F. Bandelier, *The Gilded Man*, 289 et seq.

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other enterprise. Massanet wanted another entrada by all means, and he stressed the undertaking from a different angle. He told of a nation of friendly natives who were not only willing but waiting to receive Christianity. Massanet could lend additional weight to his appeal by citing the fact that his religious superiors at the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro heartily approved the project. Prior to this the Franciscan superior had objected to mission work in a far land when there was so much to be done near home; but a change of superiors put the Reverend Padre Juan Capistrano in charge of the convent and he most willingly consented to Massanet's plans.¹⁰

The viceroy could hardly refuse. De León was appealing to his political responsibilities and Massanet to his religious impulses. He put the matter to a meeting of the chief men of Mexico, and after lengthy deliberations, at which both leaders were present and personally urged their causes, it was decided that another entrada should be made to the lands beyond the Rio Grande.

According to the instructions of the viceroy, De León was to be commander of the expedition. He was to take one hundred and ten soldiers with him, to proceed at once to Fort St. Louis and destroy the wooden buildings; he was to ascertain whether there were any other French Settlements or Frenchmen in the Gulf region. He was then to communicate with the chief of the Tejas and find out whether or not his people were still willing to have the missionaries preach to them. If the chief still wanted the missionaries, he was to escort Padre Massanet and his

¹⁰ Manzanet, *Carta, Quarterly*, II, 286-293.

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fellow-workers to the villages of the Tejas and there assist them in establishing a mission.

Massanet had his own instructions. He was to select some of his religious brethren from the College of Querétaro to assist him in establishing the proposed mission. He selected Padres Miguel Fontecuberta, Francisco de Jesús María, and Antonio Bordoy. He was to have the assistance of De León as explained above, in locating and establishing the mission. To further encourage the enterprise and guarantee its success the viceroy sent Captain Francisco Martinez with twenty mules laden with wine, wax, and other necessities for saying Mass, as well as clothing, tobacco and the like for distribution among the natives.¹¹

¹¹ Manzanet, *Carta, Quarterly*, II, 294-295.

CHAPTER III

SPANISH OCCUPATION

DE LEÓN'S EXPEDITION OF 1690

The De León entrada of 1690, a combined military and missionary enterprise, which was definitely to establish the first Spanish settlement in Texas, got under way from the presidio of Coahuila on March 28, 1690. The Guadalupe River was the first objective and the route followed was similar to the former one. Arriving there the main body—an indiscriminate company of adventurous persons—encamped, and De León with twenty picked men went to the Gulf to find out if the French were again active. Old Fort St. Louis looked completely abandoned; there was not the least sign that it had been occupied since the preceding visit of the Spaniards. Orders had been given to destroy the fort and Padre Massanet himself set fire to the wooden structure which was soon completely reduced to ashes.

De León had now partly complied with his instructions—he had destroyed the French fortifications—but there was still more to do: he had to explore the surrounding country and see if other Frenchmen had arrived since his last visit. Accordingly, he explored the banks of the Garcitas and then proceeded down to Espíritu Santo Bay where a thorough examination convinced De León that there were no other French settlements on Texas soil. He and his party, therefore, returned to the main camp on the Guadalupe, satisfied with having accomplished their part of the undertaking satisfactorily.

Padre Massanet was anxious to start his apos-

SPANISH OCCUPATION

tolic labors, and since the temporal affairs of the expedition had now been disposed of, all attention was centered on the spiritual aspect of the entrada. The entire party left the Guadalupe and moved toward the land of the Tejas, and after several days of travelling a messenger was dispatched by De León to the chief of the Tejas Indians informing him of the approach of the Spaniards.

The chief was delighted with the news and set out at once to greet and welcome the approaching party. He was received with great pomp and splendor, Padre Massanet embracing him as a sign of friendship. The chief was provided with garments, so that he might return to his village clothed, and thus show his followers how highly the Spaniards esteemed him. He then accompanied the Spaniards to his lands where they arrived on May 22, 1690.

MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LOS TEJAS

Since the Indians were still willing to have missionaries stay with them and teach them Christianity, permission was given to the Padres to erect a house as a dwelling for themselves and to build a church for the celebration of Mass. De León and Massanet set to work at once to find a suitable place for their mission. The Indians suggested a site that the French had selected for a settlement, but it proved to be too far away from the homes of the Indians. However, a "delightful spot close to a brook" was found and in a few days a chapel and residence had been built of crude logs. Nothing remains of these at present; in fact the exact location of the establishment was a matter of dispute for years. Herbert E. Bolton has, however, definitely fixed the location of this mission at a point from one to two miles

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northwest of the present village of Weches, in Houston County.

As soon as construction work was over the mission was officially opened, and this was done with a great deal of pomp and splendor. The ceremonies took place on the feast of Corpus Christi, in that year on May 25. There was a procession, and during it the soldiers were permitted to fire salutes; the procession ended at the church building and there Mass was said and the *Te Deum Laudamus* was sung in thanksgiving. The mission was named San Francisco de los Tejas, and this was its formal beginning, although the church was not blessed on that day. That ceremony took place on the morning of June 1.

When these strictly religious services were over, on May 25, the political ceremonies took place, and it was then that the royal standard, bearing on one side the picture of Christ crucified, and on the other that of the Blessed Virgin of Guadalupe, was raised. It was at that moment also that the Spaniards took formal possession of the country.¹

All the instructions from the viceroy having been fulfilled, plans for returning to Mexico were in order. De León did not, however, want to expose the infant establishment to unnecessary dangers, and so he planned to leave some fifty soldiers for the protection of the mission and the missionaries. Masanet thought that the fifty soldiers were unnecessary. He felt sure that relations with the natives would always be friendly. In fact he believed, as the chief of the Tejas had assured him, that the Tejas Indians would take care of the missionaries

¹ Elizabeth Howard West, *Bonnilla's Brief Compendium, Quarterly*, Texas State Historical Association, VIII, 17.

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should difficulties arise. De León contested the point but the Padre had his way and only three soldiers were left for the protection of the mission.²

Captain De León left at the mission whatever supplies he could spare. He left for the soldiers, nine of the King's horses, some fire-locks, a barrel of powder and some shot; for the missionaries he left twenty-six loads of flour, twenty cows, two yokes of oxen, ploughs with plough-shares, axes, spades and other little things. Massanet was certain the enterprise would succeed during his absence. He planned to go with De León to get reinforcements, and if possible, the permission for more establishments, and then come back and engage in more strictly apostolic labors. During his absence Padre Fontecuberta was to be in charge of affairs, and Padres Jesús María and Antonio Bordoy were to be the assistants.

All was now arranged, and on June 2 the return trip to Coahuila was started. Those left behind little knew what troublous times awaited them, and even if they had known, it would not have discouraged them, for the self-sacrificing spirit that had brought them into this wilderness was strong enough to make them face any trials and tribulations. They set about their labors at once, and to make themselves more useful to the natives they started to learn the Indian language.

Those returning to Mexico had to contend with a rainy season that interrupted and delayed their march. The Rio Trinidad was too high to cross and it was necessary to camp on its banks for one week and wait for the waters to subside. After

² See Manzanet, *Carta, Quarterly*, II, 307-308, for details of the dispute between Massanet and De León concerning the number to be left.

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proceeding a short distance beyond the Guadalupe, De León learned that some French children were living with the coast Indians, and he determined to rescue them. The Indians were found without much difficulty but so attached had they become to the white children that De León was forced to give them some horses before they would let the children go. These children were taken to Mexico and later sent to Spain.³

The rest of the march to the Rio Grande was not so orderly if we are to believe the report Massanet gave of the journey. He recorded that De León relaxed his control over the men and that each one did much as he pleased, with the result that many petty quarrels and much friction arose. So careless were the men in attending to their horses and mules that many were lost. Some horses were left also at various places for breeding purposes.⁴ This made marching easier, and yet the party did not make any remarkable speed, principally because of the forced delay at the Rio Grande. That river was so high that they had to wait eighteen days before a crossing could be made. The remainder of the journey was not marked by any incident of importance.

THE EXPEDITION OF DOMINGO TERAN

When Padre Massanet arrived in Mexico City he reported the successful establishment of a mission among the Tejas Indians. His arguments were persuasive, and his enthusiasm contagious. The authorities at once visioned permanent achievements

³ They were: Pedro Meunir and Pedro Talón who were found by De León in the *ranchitos* of the Emet Indians, and Robert and Lucien Talón and their sister Marie Madeleine, who were found among the coast Indians.

⁴ Manzanet, *Carta, Quarterly*, II, 296-309.

SPANISH OCCUPATION

and conquests in that frontier region and set about with a great deal of enthusiasm to draw up a program of further missionary activity and more extensive explorations. The viceroy could now proceed with considerable confidence because the project had royal approval. The king having heard of the preceding *entradas* issued a royal *cédula* confirming the viceroy's acts, and ordering him to continue his commendable work.

The success of the East Texas undertaking was probably never questioned. The natural difficulties, however, of projecting a settlement far into the wilderness, depending for supplies on a base one hundred leagues away, should alone have caused the Spanish authorities to hesitate and consider the probability of failure. The settlement could be maintained without soldiers only as long as the Indians were friendly and kindly disposed. But years of experience in dealing with the Indians should have told the officials in Mexico that a sincere friendship with the Indians did not ordinarily mean a lasting one. Hence, they should have taken necessary measures to better safeguard and perpetuate the mission. But it seems that if these things were considered they were not properly evaluated, and so the zeal and enthusiasm of these men got the better of their judgment. At any rate, extensive preparations were made for several more missions like San Francisco de los Tejas.

Don Domingo Terán de los Rios, governor of Coahuila and Texas, was to command the *entrada*, and his three-fold instructions,—in the form of a document dated January 23, 1691, and consisting of seventeen long paragraphs—were given in great detail. In the first place, this was to be principally a missionary enterprise since all energies were directed

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

primarily toward enlarging the mission already established and toward founding eight additional ones among the other Indian tribes in East Texas. The viceroy was determined that these plans should not miscarry, and therefore, he demanded that peaceful and tactful methods be used in dealing with the savages; that they be not driven to do manual labor, and that their property and person be respected so that the labors of the priests would be made easier. Terán was instructed in the second place to search diligently for any remaining Frenchmen, particularly in the north, for there was still a lingering suspicion that there was another French village on Spanish territory. Finally, a thorough survey of the country was to be undertaken. This was to include an examination of the resources, a charting of the rivers, and a study of the customs and habits of the natives, particularly their religious beliefs.

In order that everything should move along without friction the viceroy was careful to fully supply the expedition with men, munitions and provisions. There were to be fifty soldiers and fourteen Franciscans—seven priests and seven lay-brothers. In order to support the company en route and also to supply the mission already established, as well as those to be founded, abundant supplies and provisions, arms, and munitions, large herds of mules and horses, and flocks of cattle, sheep, and goats were to be taken along.⁵ To assist Terán in exploring the bays, inlets, and rivers, he was to have the services of forty skilled seamen, under Captain Gregorio Salinas de Verona, who were to sail from Vera Cruz to Espíritu Santo Bay, and there await him for further instructions.

⁵ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 416.

SPANISH OCCUPATION

This expedition was more pretentious in size and scope than the preceding ones. The first, under De León, merely investigated the rumor of the presence of foreigners, and it did not in the least attempt the evangelization or political occupation of the land. The second, under the same leader, was more or less a duplication of the first, but it did, however, call for the establishment of a mission; still there was no serious thought of extensive colonization. But the third one had as objective the general occupation of the northeastern frontier, for the authorities of Mexico, as the instructions show, were now quite determined to occupy the region.

There is still another feature of this entrada that must be stressed, and that is the peculiar division of authority. Terán, as was already mentioned, was to be in charge of the expedition; but he was not to have sole command. Padre Massanet, who had worked so hard for this undertaking, and who knew something of existing conditions, particularly the religious, was appointed by the viceroy to be commissary of the expedition. This meant that Massanet controlled all supplies: it was up to him to see that the existing mission was well equipped, and that those to be established should have all that was thought necessary. He was also to have charge of maintaining the army in supplies, but the control of the men and the determination of the courses to be followed was in the hands of Terán. The division of authority was not satisfactory; in fact it was so close, that it was often impossible to determine where the one began and the other left off, resulting in many misunderstandings, difficulties, and quarrels which often made the leaders work at cross purposes and accomplish very little. The blame for the miscarriage of many of the plans, as well as for

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

the unnecessary difficulties that arose in the course of this enterprise, if not the failure of the entire undertaking, is to be attributed principally to this poor division of authority.

SITE OF SAN ANTONIO DISCOVERED

The entrada organized during the spring of 1691 near Coahuila, and on May 16 of that year the assembled company consisting of soldiers, friars, and various attendants, with their horses, mules, cattle, sheep, goats and the like started their march toward the east. They followed approximately the same route De León had taken on his trips until they reached the Rio Grande. After crossing this river they took a more northern route than De León had taken, still their general direction was the same, crossing the same rivers, but giving them different names. For example: De León named the present San Antonio River "Arroyo del León" because he found a dead lion near the banks of the stream, while Terán because he crossed this stream—at a spot considerably north of De León's crossing—on June 13, the feast of St. Anthony, called it San Antonio de Padua. Massanet described the country around San Antonio de Padua as being very fine, inhabited by Payaya Indians, and called *Yanaguana* in the language of these natives.

Since this was the first visit of the Spaniards to the site which is now San Antonio, it might be well to add a few details. The party arrived, as was mentioned, on June 13. It so happened that the following day was the feast of Corpus Christi, and it was decided that they should not continue their journey, but rather spend the day in religious celebration and physical rest. Padre Massanet, who

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kept a diary of the trip, recorded what happened on that day:

I ordered a large cross set up, and in front of it built an arbor of cottonwood trees, where the altar was placed. All the priests said Mass. High Mass was attended by Governor Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, Captain Don Francisco Martínez, and the rest of the soldiers, all of whom fired a great many salutes. When the host was elevated, a salute was fired by all the guns. The Indians were present during these ceremonies. After Mass the Indians were given to understand through the captain of the Pacpul nation, that the Mass and the salutes fired by the Spaniards were all for the honor, worship, and adoration we owed to God, our Lord, in acknowledgment of the benefits and great blessings that His Divine Majesty bestows upon us; that it was to Him that we had just offered sacrifice in the form of bread and wine which had just been elevated in the Mass.

Then I distributed among them rosaries, pocket knives, cutlery, beads, and tobacco. I gave a horse to the Captain. In the midst of their ranchería, i.e., their pueblo, they had a tall wooden cross. They said that they knew that the Christians put up crosses in their houses and settlements and had great reverence for them, because it was a thing that was very pleasing to Him who was God and Lord of all. On the day we left, the said Payaya captain, as an expression of thanks and appreciation, declared that he wished to go with us and guide us as far as the rancherías of the Chomanes. He also ordered four Indians of his tribe to help the Spaniards round up the stock and do whatever else might be needed.⁶

After leaving the San Antonio River the party

⁶Mattie Austin Hatcher, *The Expedition of Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos into Texas*, 55. *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*.

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moved onwards without further incident of importance until they reached one of the branches of the Guadalupe. Here they were met by Indians who brought letters from the Padres at San Francisco Mission. From these letters Massanet learned that there were many difficulties at the Mission due principally to a scourge of sickness—probably some form of fever—that took the life of the president Padre Fontecuberta on February 5, and also claimed many natives, causing much uneasiness among them.

After receiving that news Massanet was restless and anxious to get to the Mission, and this gave rise to the first serious difficulty. The Colorado was reached on June 27 and a halt was called by Terán who now wanted to unite the sea and land expeditions. So, following the instructions of the viceroy, he sent Captain Martínez with twenty men and a number of pack animals to Espíritu Santo Bay to meet the sea expedition that had set out from Vera Cruz under Captain Gregorio Salinas de Verona.

On July 18 Martínez returned without having met the sea party. He reported that he had stayed around Espíritu Santo Bay for more than seven days, had travelled up and down, and had even made fires to attract the attention of the party, but all to no avail for he had seen nothing of the forces. This was bad news indeed, and a consultation was made to decide what should be done. Governor Terán wanted to send another expedition to the bay at once with orders to wait two or three weeks if necessary for the seamen from Vera Cruz. He believed that that would be much better than to go to the Mission San Francisco first and then send a detachment from there, for this, he argued, would mean much more travelling. Massanet, however,

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anxious to go to the rescue of his fellow-missionaries, who had been fourteen months without receiving assistance, would not consent to another delay of two or three weeks, and he demanded that the party set out for the Mission at once. Massanet added other arguments, stressing the unfriendly attitude of the coast Indians, and the difficulty of maintaining the party in that desolate neighborhood. He spoke so forcefully in favor of his plan that Terán's objections were overruled and the party set out for the Mission.

The expedition was delayed slightly at the Brazos and again at the Trinity. The Padres had by this time become so impatient at the slow progress that was being made that they pushed on alone, leaving Terán and the main body to follow. Even before they arrived the Friars were met by Padres Jesús María and Bordoy, who at once started relating the events of the preceding year.

MISSION SANTISIMO NOMBRE DE MARIA

Shortly after De León and Massanet had left them the year before, the missionaries broadened their field of activity and established during the month of June another mission a few miles to the north on a river called Archangel San Miguel.⁷ This was the second mission in Texas; it was administered by Padre Jesús María, and was called Santísimo Nombre de María.⁸ Still the missionaries were not successful in their apostolic labors as the expansion of their establishments indicated. They reported that work among the Indians was necessarily slow due to the indifference of the Indians, to the difficulties in learning the language, and to the small number of

⁷ Probably the Neches.

⁸ West, *Bonnilla's Brief Compendium, Quarterly*, VIII, 17.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

missionaries. However, their labors were not without reward for they counted many converts to Christianity, and among them the great Xinesi, head of the Hasinai confederation.⁹

When Governor Terán arrived several days later he was introduced to the leaders of the Indian tribes with a great deal of ceremony, after which he distributed many presents. He then created a province out of the land of the Indians and called it El Nuevo Reyno de la Nueva Montaña de Santander y Santillana.¹⁰

After having gone through these formalities, and after having delivered the mission supplies to the Padres, Governor Terán set out to meet the sea expedition. He arrived at Espíritu Santo Bay on September 8, and found the company of seamen who had been waiting for him since July 2. For some unknown reason Captain Martínez, who had been in the neighborhood in the middle of July, had not found them. Many difficulties delayed the work of unloading the supplies which the ship carried, and in getting them ready for transportation to the missions. Then numerous obstacles, principally rainy weather and swollen streams, were encountered on the return trip with consequent delays for the travellers, so that it was October 26 before they reached the Mission of Santísimo Nombre de María.¹¹

It was determined to proceed at once, according to the viceroy's instructions, to the country of the Cadodachos and establish missions among them. Nothing had been done to this end up to the present, not even during the two months' absence of Terán,

⁹ R. C. Clark, *The Beginnings of Texas*, *University of Texas Bulletin*, No. 98, p. 33.

¹⁰ Hatcher, *Terán Expedition*, 20.

¹¹ Hatcher, *Terán Expedition*, 27.

SION DE S. ANTONIO

Desde Cruz Lunsacion

Nota

Chiané. De que muni se muni al parage, l'ormai
Indipendente non era l'arrogancia. De que muni
muni al Duquino, in muni non la arrogancia
Stoppa. Oltremonte se muni l'ormai al Duquino
in muni non era, in la arrogancia se muni
Valles.

BAVISMOS DE ESTADOS

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TITLE PAGE OF THE BAPTISMAL RECORD
MISSION SAN ANTONIO DE VALERO

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

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⁹ R. C. Clark, *The Beginnings of Texas*, *University of Texas Bulletin*, No. 98, p. 33.

¹⁰ Hatcher, *Terán Expedition*, 20.

¹¹ Hatcher, *Terán Expedition*, 27.

BAV TISMOS DELA MIS SION DE S ANTONIO De Valero Desde su fundacion

Nota

Esta Misión se fundó el año de mil setecientos y tres
en la Canga del Rio grande con la advocación de S. Antonio
Chilón. De este año se mudó al parage llamado S. José
dephorido, teniendo esta advocación. De aquí se mudó
mucho al Rio grande, en donde tuvo la advocación de S. Joseph.
Ultimamente se trasplantó al Rio de Valero,
en donde está esta, con la advocación de S. Antonio
Valero.

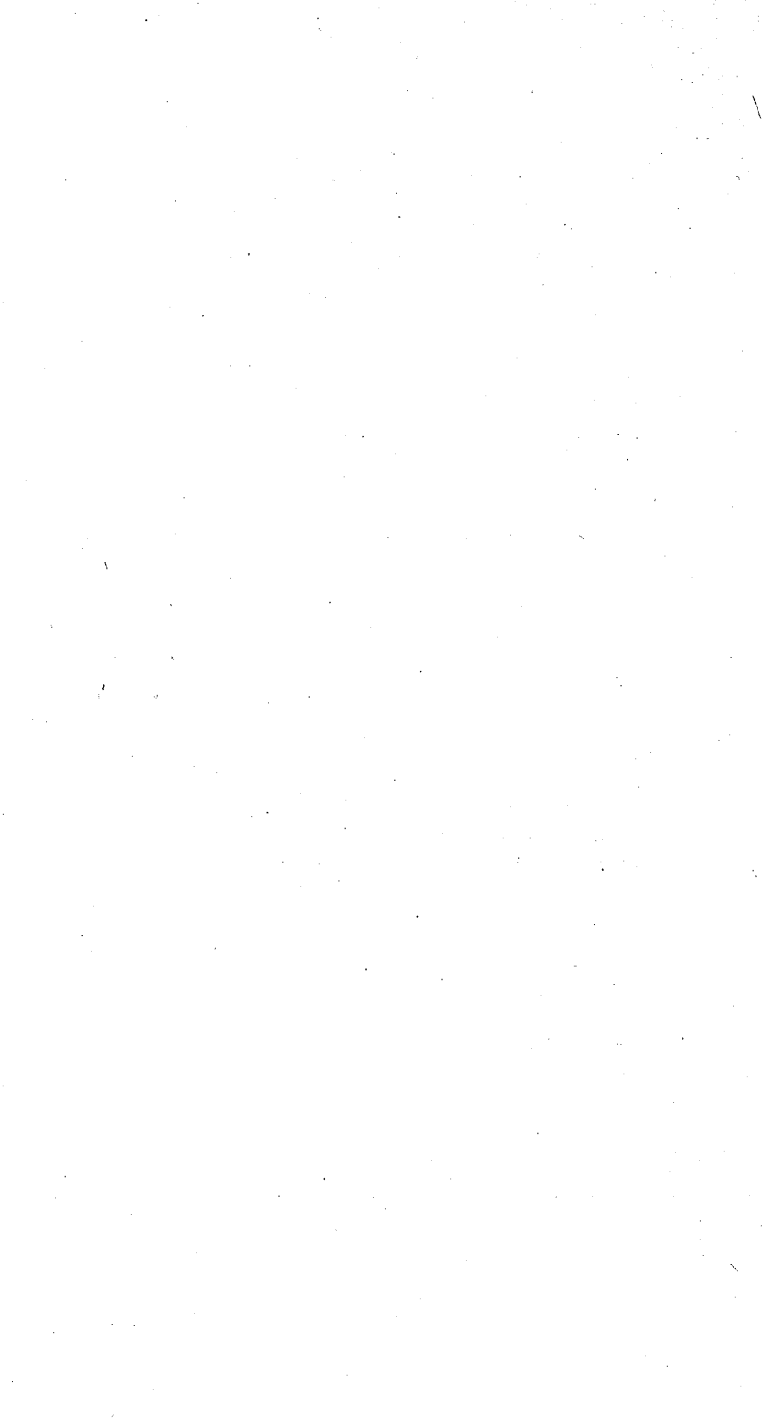
BAV TISMOS DE ESTA MISIÓN

En el tiempo que se nombra de S. Francisco de
Toro, los quales con los demás que se hicieron hacia
principio, y S. Diego Martín Garib. Chirila
tual de esta Misión trasladó aquí solo tiene algunos
por esta era ya matriculados, y para haberse algunos
partidos en quarenta sueltos. Tomemos de agora

Año de 1705

En este año se recibió el primer bautismo en esta Misión, y fue
Hacia don Juan de Valero, hijo de don Juan de Valero, y de
doña Ana de Valero. Fue bautizado por el P. Fr. Juan de
Valero, con testigos. Se dio un padrino, y fue don Juan de
Valero, y fue = Hermanos que se bautizaron en este año
Christóbal, y Ana de. Fr. Juan de Valero, y de Valero.

Fuertes. En este año se recibió un año de mil setecientos y tres, y fue bautizado en este año.



SPANISH OCCUPATION

for it seems that Massanet and the missionaries confined their efforts to the places already established, and did not make any serious effort to locate others. It also seems that the original enthusiasm concerning new mission establishments had pretty well spent itself, and that the wisdom of the entire undertaking was now being questioned. Terán had his instructions, however, and he was determined to carry them out if for no other reason than to fulfill the letter of the law, for he also had lost faith in the undertaking by this time.

On November 6 they set out toward the land of the Caddos. With Terán were Massanet and a number of missionaries, Captain Gregorio Salinas de Verona, and a party of soldiers. They took along plenty of supplies and provisions. None of them really had their heart in the cause and they proceeded more out of a sense of duty than for any other reason.

Disputes arose between Governor Terán and the missionaries which rendered the expedition ineffectual. Rain and storm delayed the march, the weather turned cold and the explorers, being ill clad, suffered much; there wasn't sufficient pasturage for the animals and they were soon worn out and unable to travel; the difficulties were so great that the whole company was brought to a standstill. A stubborn determination caused Terán, Massanet, a few missionaries and soldiers to leave the party and move on to the Cadodachos, and on November 28 they arrived at the river of the Cadodachos (probably the Red River). This had been their objective, but now that they were there they did not feel the joy of accomplishment but rather a sense of relief at having the disagreeable business over. They hurriedly surveyed the territory, jotted down observations,

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

marked the course of the river for a distance, and then held conferences with the Indians. They found out that the Cadodachos were friendly and willing to receive missionaries, but conditions did not seem favorable for missionary work—the severity of the weather, the lack of supplies for an establishment, and the distance from the existing missions, all seemed to compel the Padres to postpone missionary efforts. Thus no Friars were left among the Cadodachos.¹²

The return march was even worse than the up-country grind. The weather grew increasingly severe, snow covered the ground, and the horses, without proper food, died one by one. Hardships became intense, the men were compelled to use their saddle horses to carry the baggage, and so they themselves had to travel on foot. Toward the end, food failed and most of them had at most one meal a day. In this condition they arrived at Mission San Francisco de los Tejas in January 1692.¹³

TERAN RETURNS TO MEXICO

Not only was Terán thoroughly discouraged by the little that had been accomplished so far, but he was convinced that nothing of a constructive nature would result from his continued stay in the region. He was of this opinion principally because he and Massanet found it impossible to agree on fundamental matters; in fact, relations between these two were becoming more and more strained every day; and then too, there had never been a mutual spirit of coöperation between the spiritual and military forces, and the future did not promise anything different; and finally, the unexpected hardships that

¹² Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 416-417.

¹³ Hatcher, *Terán Expedition*, 39.

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were encountered were sufficient to make even the strongest hesitate. Terán, therefore, determined to return to Mexico at once.

Leaving behind a small guard of soldiers for the service of Massanet and the few missionaries who were to continue their work at the missions already established, Terán, on January 9, 1692, set out for Espíritu Santo Bay, where he intended to board the ship anchored there and return by sea. In the course of the last few days Terán spent at the Mission San Francisco de los Tejas, he had a particularly violent quarrel with Massanet that made the breach between these two men complete. The difficulty centered around the question as to which horses Terán and the soldiers were to use for their return trip. No agreement could be reached and so Terán instructed the soldiers to take what was necessary and depart.

The journey to the sea was made in the winter season, and not without considerable difficulties, principally in the way of impassable roads and swollen streams. Upon reaching Espíritu Santo Bay the entire company of soldiers and sailors embarked and set sail on March 24 for Vera Cruz, reaching that port on April 15, 1692.

Meanwhile all was not well at the missions. To start with, the small guard that had been left to protect the Padres was not large enough to be of any real service. Then the Indians were beginning to show signs of duplicity: they were accepting the gifts which were frequently given to them and professing a friendship for the missionaries, yet whenever they had the opportunity they would steal from the missions anything that could be stolen. To add to the missionaries' troubles a severe drought caused two successive crop failures, and a disease spread among the stock causing many cattle to die. A

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

good number of the natives also fell victims to the disease and the Indians, attributing their misfortune to the baptismal water which the missionaries used, became actually hostile.¹⁴ To cap the entire situation the soldiers were offensive in their relations with the natives. The missionaries attempted to meet this last problem by their efforts to lead the soldiers to live in a more Christian manner, for their bad example was not only an obstacle to, but was actually undoing, the work which the missionaries had accomplished. The soldiers did not respond, discord increased and this, added to the other difficulties, made life very disagreeable and discouraging at the missions.

In June, 1693, Captain Gregorio Salinas came up from Coahuila with supplies for the establishments. But by this time some of the missionaries had lost all confidence in the undertaking, and rather than spend themselves further in such a difficult field, they returned to Mexico with those who would have brought them assistance. Even those who stayed behind knew that they could succeed only if the methods of colonization were changed. Accordingly, Massanet wrote a long letter explaining the situation and sent it to the viceroy with those returning to Mexico. In this letter Massanet described the difficulties facing the mission, and after pointing out how hopeless the conditions were under the present system, pleaded for more soldiers, because, as he said, they were indispensable for keeping order, and for protecting the Friars from the violence of the Indians.

The viceroy was not moved by the letter of Massanet. He could see no reason why further expenses should be made to maintain the establish-

¹⁴ West, *Bonnilla's Brief Compendium*, Quarterly, II, 19-20.

SPANISH OCCUPATION

ments, since the original reason for their creation, the threat of occupancy by the French, no longer existed. He and his advisers, therefore, determined to give up the whole project, and on August 21, 1693, ordered that the missionaries withdraw, and that the missions be abandoned.

Meanwhile events were moving rapidly at the missions. The Indians became more hostile, the soldiers more insubordinate, and the missionaries found it necessary, of their own accord, to leave the missions. In the night of October 25, they buried the bells and such other property as could not be transported and returned to Coahuila.¹⁵

Thus ended the first effort of the Spaniards to settle the Texas country, and with the departure of the missionaries the Indians were left in undisturbed possession of the territory for many years. A few months after closing the missions, all remaining ties were broken with the Texas frontier, for on March 11, 1694, the viceroy ordered that the province of El Nuevo Reyno de la Nueva Montaña de Santander y Santillana, created with so much hope and expectation by Terán should be definitely and formally abandoned.¹⁶

¹⁵ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 419.

¹⁶ West, *Bonnilla's Brief Compendium, Quarterly*, VIII, 21.

CHAPTER IV

THE RAMON—SAINT-DENIS EXPEDITION

MISSION ESTABLISHMENTS ON THE RIO GRANDE

With the departure of the Franciscan Friars from East Texas in 1693 activities in that region ceased, but the missionaries were not idle. Their headquarters were at Coahuila and their principal work was with the Indians of Mexico. Gradually some of the Padres moved in the direction of the Rio Grande. In 1698 two of the Queretarians, Francisco Hidalgo and Diego de Salazar founded a mission close to the Rio Grande and named it San Juan Bautista. Salazar was founder and president of the mission but Padre Hidalgo soon took charge. This was not exactly new territory for Hidalgo; he had been with Masanet at San Francisco de los Tejas and had developed a great liking for the Texas missions and longed to return to them.

The mission San Juan Bautista did not flourish and it was abandoned shortly after its foundation because of trouble with the Indians. It was rebuilt almost immediately—in January, 1700—at a more desirable location, nearer the Rio Grande, and about twenty-five miles below what is now Piedras Negras.¹ Associated with this mission was Padre Antonio de San Buenaventura y Olivares who was later destined to win fame in the Texas missionary field. Close to the mission of San Juan Bautista, a presidio, bearing the same name, was subsequently built.

In 1700 Padre Olivares, under protection of

¹ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 379.

THE RAMON—SAINT-DENIS EXPEDITION

the military guard of this presidio, established at *La Ciénega del Río Grande*, the mission of San Francisco Solano. The date of the foundation of this mission is usually given as 1703. In fact, the records confirm this, since the first entry in the baptismal book was made on October 6, 1703. Padre Diego Martín García is somewhat responsible for

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Diego Martín García". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, ornate initial "D". To the right of the signature is a decorative flourish consisting of a circular element with a cross-like shape inside, and a long, sweeping line extending downwards and to the right.

this statement. Padre García had spent most of his time between 1740 and 1754 laboring at the mission San Antonio de Valero. This latter mission was a continuation of the old San Francisco Solano mission and the old records of Solano were naturally passed on to San Antonio. In 1745 García rewrote the records because, as he indicated, the original ones were in various manuscripts and in poor shape. At the beginning of these records—the ones we have to-day—García gives a brief history of the transference of the mission to San Antonio in 1718, and he also gives the date of its foundation as 1703. However, Portillo in his history of Coahuila and Texas gives 1700 as the date, and he seems to be right.²

² For a discussion of this point see Bolton, *Spanish Mission Records at San Antonio, Quarterly*, Texas State Historical Association, X, 299-300. The books of administration of this mission are interesting. They show that in 1703 there were 14 baptisms and 6 burials. In 1704 there were 143 baptisms, mostly of the Xarame, Payuguan and Siaban tribes, and 19 burials. In 1705 only one

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The Spaniards were now at the Rio Grande and, therefore, close to Texas. Padre Hidalgo was so anxious to return to the Asinais Indians heretofore known to the Spaniards as the Tejas Indians, that he set out alone in 1709 for their country, and single-handed administered to their wants for several years. During this time he petitioned the viceroy for assistance but received no encouraging reply. The Spanish authorities saw no reason for further activity in the region. Foreign nations were no longer attempting settlement, hence ownership was no longer being threatened, and therefore, why undertake expensive colonizing expeditions? Potential ownership satisfied the Spaniards, and Padre Hidalgo's request was refused.

FRENCH ACTIVITIES IN LOUISIANA

Foreigners, however, were active. The French, after the unsuccessful attempt of La Salle, had not given up entirely their intention of settling the territory they claimed as their own—the lower Mississippi region—and they continued their activities. Toward the end of the century another attempt was planned, this time on the eastern extremities of their territory. Their objective was Pensacola Bay in Spanish Florida. They were not so secretive this time and news of their plans reached Spain. The seriousness of the situation now dawned on the Spaniards and Carlos de Sigüenza was ordered to sail from Vera Cruz and explore the bays of Pen-

baptism, signed by Padre Hidalgo, and two burials are recorded. From 1706 to 1708 the mission was more prosperous again, there being 178 baptisms and 93 burials, mostly of the Texocodame and Tripas Blancas tribes. In 1709 there were no entries; probably the mission was temporarily abandoned. From 1710 to 1713 Padre Juan de Soto was in charge, and most of the Indians baptised were from the Xaramé tribe. In 1714 there again appears no record. In 1715 there is but one baptism recorded and in 1716 only two are entered.

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sacola, Mobile and the surrounding territory. Si-güenza sailed in 1693, but it was not until November 1698 that Spain finally settled Pensacola.

Shortly after this, Sieur d'Iberville, French colonizer, appeared at Pensacola Bay, but finding two Spanish ships there, and a colony about three hundred strong, he moved on to Biloxi Bay to establish his settlement. The French, now permanently settled, became active, and by 1710 Sieur d'Bienville, brother of d'Iberville, founded a trading post at the present site of Mobile.

The French settlement did not thrive. Economically it was a bad venture and the king was anxious, in view of the depleted national treasury, to rid himself of this burden. To do so he gave, in 1712, to Sieur Antoine Crozat, a wealthy French merchant, a monopoly of trade in Louisiana for a period of fifteen years.³ Crozat's boundaries were defined as extending from the English settlements in Carolina in the east to New Mexico in the west.

Crozat had a very active agent in the newly appointed governor of Louisiana, LaMothe Cadillac, the founder of Detroit. Cadillac's first idea was to develop trade with Mexico. To this end he dispatched a vessel to Vera Cruz with the hope of opening negotiations. However, the viceroy refused to start trading and declared that the ports of New Spain were positively closed to foreign commerce.

It was at this very time that Padre Hidalgo was working among the Asinais Indians of Texas and unsuccessfully trying to get the Spanish authorities to support his plans for mission establishments. The refusal of the viceroy did not entirely discourage him. Hidalgo loved the Texas Indians and felt

³ Clark, *The Beginnings of Texas*, 49.

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convinced that the harvest was rich and ready to be gathered. If the Spaniards refused to help him in Christianizing the natives, he told himself, why shouldn't he call on the French of Louisiana. He sent a letter, therefore, to the governor of Louisiana inviting him to found a mission among the Asinais Indians.

When Cadillac, governor of Louisiana, received Hidalgo's request he immediately saw advantages in complying with it. His Vera Cruz project had failed. Here was a chance to open commercial relations with Mexico by the overland route. He would be very willing to help rebuild the churches among the Texas Indians, if that would help him in inaugurating and establishing trade. He eventually accepted Hidalgo's invitation and acted upon it.

The undertaking presented a number of difficulties. To start with, the land route was a long one, and the Indians were sometimes decidedly unfriendly. Then, too, the Spaniards were suspicious. To carry out this undertaking and make a success of it would require a man with considerable tact and finesse. Crozat chose Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis, a man of rather wide experience, and otherwise well-qualified for the position. He had even been on an exploring expedition in 1700 to the Red River, and to the villages of the Natchitoches and Caddochoes Indians—the very country the French were now to penetrate.

Saint-Denis and his party of twenty-four Canadians set out for Texas in the fall of 1713 from Mobile in five canoes. They took about 10,000 livres worth of merchandise with them to test the possibilities of trade. They went by way of Fort St. John, now known as Biloxi, hired some Indian guides there, and then went on up the Red River.

THE RAMON—SAINT-DENIS EXPEDITION

They stopped at the village of Natchitoches, where Saint-Denis built two houses to store his merchandise. He left a guard of ten men to protect the new post, and then proceeded to the villages of the Asinais where he spent the winter trading with the Indians. The barter he carried on—he exchanged guns, beads, knives, and cloth for cattle and buffalo hides—was very successful.

During his sojourn with the Asinais, Saint-Denis found out that Padre Hidalgo was no longer with them, but that he had returned to the Spanish settlements on the Rio Grande. The Indians truly loved the Padre and were anxious to have him return. That the Indians were genuine in their attachment to the Catholic faith Saint-Denis never doubted because they manifested unmistakable signs of this attachment. That they wanted Hidalgo to return was evident because they offered to accompany Saint-Denis to the Spanish settlement if he would but use his influence to make the Padre return.

Accordingly, an expedition to the presidio San Juan Bautista was arranged. Twenty-five Asinais with their chief Bernardino were to act as guides and solicit in person the return of the missionaries.⁴ The journey was not uneventful, for near the Rio San Marcos they met a band of two hundred coast Indians. A fierce battle followed in which the Asinais were victorious. Since it seemed that they would no longer be needed Saint-Denis' allies now returned home, with the exception of the chief and three of his tribesmen. These with their leader continued their journey and passed the headwaters of the San Antonio de Padua River, Saint-Denis remark-

⁴ Saint-Denis must have sent back most of his own men before starting on this expedition for he had only three Frenchmen with him when he arrived at his destination. West, *Bonnilla's Brief Compendium, Quarterly*, VIII, 24.

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ing that the site was a suitable place for a settlement, and worthy of a good presidio. Six weeks after they had left the country of the Asinais, Saint-Denis and his men arrived, on July 18, 1714, at the presidio of San Juan Bautista.⁵

Saint-Denis found out that Hidalgo was no longer there, for he had gone to the headquarters of the Franciscans in Querétaro some time before. However, he was cordially received by the missionaries and by Captain Don Diego Ramón, commander of the presidio. Ramón did not know what to do with Saint-Denis. However, he did think the matter was sufficiently important to inform the viceroy. So he sent secret messages to Mexico City telling of the presence of Frenchmen on Texas soil and asking for instructions. Meanwhile he did his best to entertain Saint-Denis and keep him occupied. This was hardly necessary since Saint-Denis found the companionship of the Captain's granddaughter Doña María quite acceptable, and he spent most of his time winning her affections.

The viceroy was not entirely surprised when he received Ramón's message, since he had already heard from Gregorio de Salinas, the Spanish Governor at Pensacola, that the French were planning to trade in the Rio Grande region. Now, in order to find out definitely just what the intentions of the French were, the viceroy ordered that Saint-Denis be sent to Mexico City.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TEJAS MISSION

In the capital city the French trader was called to several *audiencias* with the viceroy and was questioned concerning his activities. In his answers, he was careful not to disclose too much information

⁵ Clark, *Beginnings of Texas*, 52-55.

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about the French plans to build up trade in the Spanish territory, and in his signed statement he emphasized, with considerable tact, the "natural affection" which the Indians of Texas had for the Spanish, and their desire to have missionaries return and reestablish missions among them.⁶

After the authorities in Mexico became acquainted with such aspects of the French activities as Saint-Denis chose to tell, they called a meeting of the Spanish officials on August 22, 1715, to discuss and adopt measures to check what they considered another foreign menace to their lands. At this meeting it was shown that the French had opened a route by which the commerce of the northern provinces might be diverted, and that it would be but a short time before they would discover the mines of New Mexico. It was beyond doubt that they had already gained such knowledge of the country as to enable them to carry on an illicit trade. To guard against this encroachment it was decided to re-occupy the country. First, by instructing the governors of the northern provinces to prohibit further entrance of the French upon Spanish territory or the introduction of any goods by them, and secondly, establish four missions in the country of the Tejas Indians, for the purpose of again instructing the natives in the Catholic Faith.

It was decided that an expedition should be fitted out at once to carry out this second resolution, and that it should be under the leadership of Captain Domingo Ramón, son of the Captain of the San Juan Bautista presidio. Somehow Saint-Denis convinced the Spanish officials that he could be of great service in the proposed expedition, and so he

⁶ *Ibid.*, 56, 57.

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was given the position of convoy or guide. He was glad to accept this position, believing, no doubt, that by entering the Spanish service he would be able to assist the French as well, since the establishment of missions in the Asinais country would furnish a more convenient market for French goods. No one has ever been able to make clear, through existing records, just why the viceroy should have appointed a Frenchman in the service of the King of Spain. Although Le Page du Pratz, in his *Histoire de Louisiane* offers the following plausible explanation: "The viceroy, the Duque of Linares, had naturally an affection for France, and promised to make a treaty of commerce as soon as the Spaniards should settle at the Asinais."⁷

Whatever the reason may be, we know that Saint-Denis accepted the post, and after coming to an understanding with the officials, he returned to the presidio of San Juan Bautista where he married Doña María and awaited the coming of Captain Domingo Ramón and his company.⁸

All preparations having been completed, the Ramón—Saint-Denis entrada prepared to cross the Rio Grande and set out in a northerly direction. The expedition was to consist of seventy-five people, in-

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Francisco Hidalgo". The signature is written in dark ink and features a large, decorative flourish at the end of the name.

cluding the following missionaries: Padres Ysidoro Félix de Espinosa, president, Francisco Hidalgo, Ga-

⁷ Cited by Clark, *Beginnings of Texas*, 63.

⁸ John H. Brown, *History of Texas*, I, 13, et seq., was completely carried away with this episode of Saint-Denis, and devoted much space to the incidental romance.

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briel de Veraga, Benito Sánchez, Manuel Castellanos and Pedro de Mezquía, all from the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro; and Padres Antonio Margil de Jesús, president, Matías Sanz de San Antonio, Pedro de Mendoza, Agustín Patrón, and two lay-brothers from the College of Zacatecas.⁹

The expedition was held up for several days due to the illness of Padre Margil. When the saintly missionary declined more and more it was decided, in view of his serious condition, to administer the sacrament of Extreme Unction, to place his recovery in the hands of God, and to push on without him.¹⁰

So on April 27, 1716, the party started. Progress was rapid and on May 14 the expedition camped at some springs, seven in number, which were given the name of San Pedro. This spot, now San Pedro Park in San Antonio, was noted by Captain Ramón as one suitable for the building of a city and by Padre Espinosa as one suitable for the establishment of a mission.¹¹

When the expedition was nearing the country of the Tejas tribes, Saint-Denis went on in advance to give notice of the approach of the Spaniards, and soon returned with a delegation of Indian chiefs. Captain Ramón received them with proper ceremony, and after they had all smoked the pipe of peace, the Indians led the way to their village. Here another body of natives came to meet the expedition, with gifts of maize, watermelons and tamales. Ramón reciprocated with gifts of cloth, dishes, hats and tobacco. Through an interpreter he then addressed the Indians, telling them that the Spaniards

⁹ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 612, 613.

¹⁰ Hermenegildo de Villaplana, *Portentosa Vida del Americano Septentrional Apostol. el V. P. Antonio Margil de Jesús*, 155.

¹¹ *Diary of Espinosa* cited by Clark, *Beginnings of Texas*, 65.

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had come to look after the welfare of their souls, to bring them to the knowledge of the Gospel and to the recognition of the authority of King Philip V, who through his viceroy, the Duque de Linares, had sent them the gifts as a token of his love.

After a brief stay with this friendly tribe, the expedition moved onward and on June 20 arrived at the site of the abandoned Mission of San Francisco de los Tejas. Captain Ramón, the missionaries, and some of the Indian chiefs, thought it best to pick out another site for their new establishment and so set out to find one. They chose a spot across the Neches river and four leagues farther inland from the site of the first building. Here on July 3, 1716, they reestablished the Mission San Francisco de los Neches with Padre Hidalgo in charge.¹² Besides the Neches, the new mission was also to serve the Nabadache, Nacoches and Nacono tribes.¹³ A short distance from this mission Captain Ramón established the presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Tejas.¹⁴

OTHER MISSION ESTABLISHMENTS

A second mission, known as Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, was founded four days later among the Asinais, whose villages consisted of a great number of *rancherías* with prosperous "patches of maize, melons, beans and tobacco."

A third mission, known as Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, was founded July 9 for the Nacogdoche and Nacao tribes, in the village of the former. The next day still another mission, called San José de los Nazonos, was founded for the Nazoni and

¹² Clark, *Beginnings of Texas*, 66.

¹³ Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Part 2, 436.

¹⁴ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 614-615.

1753
E. En este año de 1753, el día 1 de Enero, se bautizó a un niño de la tribu de los Apaches, llamado Juan, hijo de Juan y María, por el nombre de Juan. Fue padrino Juan de la Cruz, cura de esta parroquia. Se le dio el bautismo en la iglesia de San Antonio de Valero.

1754
E. En este año de 1754, el día 15 de Enero, se bautizó a un niño de la tribu de los Apaches, llamado Juan, hijo de Juan y María, por el nombre de Juan. Fue padrino Juan de la Cruz, cura de esta parroquia. Se le dio el bautismo en la iglesia de San Antonio de Valero.

1755
E. En este año de 1755, el día 1 de Febrero, se bautizó a un niño de la tribu de los Apaches, llamado Juan, hijo de Juan y María, por el nombre de Juan. Fue padrino Juan de la Cruz, cura de esta parroquia. Se le dio el bautismo en la iglesia de San Antonio de Valero.

1756
E. En este año de 1756, el día 1 de Marzo, se bautizó a un niño de la tribu de los Apaches, llamado Juan, hijo de Juan y María, por el nombre de Juan. Fue padrino Juan de la Cruz, cura de esta parroquia. Se le dio el bautismo en la iglesia de San Antonio de Valero.

1757
E. En este año de 1757, el día 1 de Abril, se bautizó a un niño de la tribu de los Apaches, llamado Juan, hijo de Juan y María, por el nombre de Juan. Fue padrino Juan de la Cruz, cura de esta parroquia. Se le dio el bautismo en la iglesia de San Antonio de Valero.

1758
E. En este año de 1758, el día 1 de Mayo, se bautizó a un niño de la tribu de los Apaches, llamado Juan, hijo de Juan y María, por el nombre de Juan. Fue padrino Juan de la Cruz, cura de esta parroquia. Se le dio el bautismo en la iglesia de San Antonio de Valero.

BAPTISMAL RECORD OF MISSION SAN ANTONIO DE VALERO
SHOWING ENTRIES MADE DURING 1753 AND 1754

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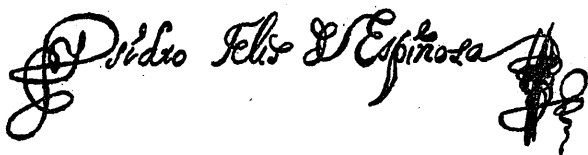
¹² Clark, *Beginnings of Texas*, 66.

¹³ Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Part 2, 436.

¹⁴ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 614-615.

THE RAMON—SAINT-DENIS EXPEDITION

Nadaco tribes. At all these places log houses and small wooden churches were hastily erected with the assistance of the Indians. Of the four missions, that of Concepción became the most famous. Because of its strategic location it became the headquarters in the province of Texas of the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro. The president of the Querétaran missions, Padre Ysidro Felix de Espinosa, personally took charge of this establishment and from it he directed the activities of the other two.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Ysidro Felix de Espinosa". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, ornate initial "Y" and a decorative flourish at the end.

Padre Margil de Jesús, who had been forced to remain at the Mission of San Juan Bautista, because of ill health, soon improved sufficiently to follow the expedition. He arrived in the Tejas country and "his heart was gratified" when he learned that several missions had already been established. He was immediately given charge of the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, which thus became the first Zacatecan establishment in Texas. Margil, now sufficiently recovered to join the ranks of the laborers, worked hard during the balance of 1716, doing many menial tasks such as working in the fields, planting, showing the Indians how to help themselves, and erecting dwelling places for them, "in order that the Holy Catholic Faith could with efficiency gain the new garden of the church."¹⁵

The Spaniards soon learned that the French had

¹⁵ Villaplana, *Portentosa Vida del Americano Septentrional Apostol. el V P. Antonio Margil de Jesús*, 155.

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established a post at Natchitoches, close to their territory. Since this would serve the French as a convenient point for communication with the Indians it was determined to investigate conditions. Ramón and Margil with a small following made an expedition to the French post. As only two Frenchmen were found, Ramón and Margil thought it best to found a mission as close as possible to the point where the French would most probably enter into Spanish territory. Thus returning westward eight leagues—near the present Robeline, Louisiana—they came to the village of the Adaes and founded a mission among them on January 29, 1717, calling it San Miguel de Linares.¹⁶

Padre Margil, urged on by missionary zeal, pushed forward to found a mission among the Yatasi, but was prevented by floods from reaching his goal. On his return he founded a second mission. This was among the Ays Indians, at the modern site of San Augustine, Texas. Like its predecessor it was a Zacatecan mission, and it was named Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Margil placed Padre Agustín Patrón de Guzmán and a lay brother in charge.¹⁷

In the meantime, Saint-Denis, soon after the arrival of the expedition in the Asinai country, hastened to Mobile with Captain Ramón's son Diego II, and two other Spaniards, to procure a new supply of merchandise. But Crozat, who, it will be remembered, had been given exclusive right to the commerce of Louisiana, was not willing to trust

¹⁶ This mission was abandoned in 1719 and reestablished by Aguayo in 1721. Across the stream from it the presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar was established. This military post was the capital of Texas until 1773.

¹⁷ *Representación hecha por Antonio Margil de Jesús*, cited by John G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, I, 490.

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Saint-Denis with more goods, even on the security of the French governor. Saint-Denis thereupon formed a company, by means of which he secured a considerable amount of merchandise, and, by the end of November, he and his associates reached the French post of Natchitoches.¹⁸ The subsequent operations of this explorer-trader have no bearing on mission establishments and, therefore, need not be recorded in detail. Suffice it to say, that after reaching San Juan Bautista the following spring, his goods were seized, he himself was made a prisoner and sent to Mexico for a hearing. The matter was submitted to the King of Spain, who, by royal decree of January 30, 1719, ordered that his goods be returned to him, and that Saint-Denis and his wife be sent to Guatemala, "far away from possibility of communication with the French."¹⁹ But long before the receipt of this order he made his escape through the assistance furnished by the friends of his wife. Saint-Denis returned to the Presidio of San Juan Bautista, took Doña María with him and the two safely reached Mobile.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE MISSIONS

To return to Captain Ramón. In each community where a mission had been founded, a captain-general was chosen by the Indians; similarly in each pueblo a governor was chosen; both of these selections had to be approved by Ramón. The Friars from among their own number chose a treasurer.²⁰ With this skeleton organization the Spaniards tried to maintain their control over the affairs that might arise on the frontier. If backed up by adequate

¹⁸ Clark, *Beginnings of Texas*, 80, 81.

¹⁹ West, *Bonnilla's Brief Compendium, Quarterly*, VIII, 29.

²⁰ West, *Bonnilla's Brief Compendium, Quarterly*, VIII, 27.

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armed forces, this would have been sufficient to ensure the safety of the Spaniards. As it was, however, both civil and ecclesiastical officials anticipated dangers, and were fearful of the future.

The Spaniards had now established six missionary settlements, each at a considerable distance from the others, and all located far from the permanent and well-established settlements in Mexico. As soon as the novelty of the enterprise wore off the Spaniards seriously examined their situation and came to the following conclusions:

In general their position was good. They had made a successful beginning, and, for the time being, the Indians were satisfied. The men were equipped with the necessary implements for active settlement, and the presence of women gave the entire undertaking an aspect of permanency. That it would have to be a permanent undertaking was certain in the minds of those responsible for it, because the French had a settlement on the Red River and they were aggressively facing westward. Should the Spaniards withdraw it would be equivalent to a surrender, because the French would take over their settlements at once.

To keep a hold on the country it would be necessary to have a new base for supplies, that is, one situated about half-way between the existing establishments and Mexico. The freight charges on goods brought from Mexico by the overland route were so high that trade was almost prohibitive. To reduce these rates it was thought a good plan to select some harbor as near as possible to the missions and use it as a base. Then such a harbor, if well fortified, would give needed military protection to the surrounding territory. Moreover, there were many advantages in having a settlement much closer

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to the Rio Grande, for example, about midway between the East Texas missions and Coahuila. The San Antonio River had been pointed out as a suitable spot. An establishment there would break the long trip to the east from Mexico, and if sufficiently fortified, could control the central region, and so leave the eastern establishments less isolated.

Convinced that something should be done to remedy the fundamental weaknesses, Ramón made formal recommendations to the viceroy. On July 22, 1716, he wrote that the small guard of soldiers under his command was inadequate for defense should the Indians become hostile. He, therefore, recommended that twenty-five more men be sent at once, and that the pay of all soldiers be increased to 450 pesos a year. This was necessary, Ramón said, because everything was exceptionally dear, due to the high freight rates from Saltillo. He also stressed the necessity of an annual appropriation of at least 6000 pesos for missionary work.

On the other hand, the missionaries saw that the Indians liked the French because of the many presents they had received from the French traders at Natchitoches. Though the Indians had received the Padres with open arms and had given them every assurance of friendship, still the missionaries, from previous experience, believed that the conversion and lasting friendship of the natives could best be obtained by a generous distribution of gifts, and they asked the viceroy that these be sent in abundance.

The superior of the College of Querétaro, Padre Diez, received these reports on September, 1716, and decided that they should not only be forwarded to the viceroy, but that pressure should be brought to bear on the requests so that favorable action would

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be taken. Padre Antonio Olivares, who had a great deal of experience in missionary work and who had a plan of his own concerning the establishment of a

*Fr. Ant^o. de S. Bunt^a
Olivares*

mission on the San Antonio River, was chosen as the most suitable man to lay the matter before the authorities.²¹ Accordingly he was commissioned to set out for Mexico City at once.

²¹ Clark, *Beginnings of Texas*, 72.

CHAPTER V

THE FOUNDING OF MISSION SAN ANTONIO DE VALERO

THE ALARCON EXPEDITION

When Padre Antonio Olivares arrived in Mexico City he at once called on the viceroy who received him cordially. He presented the petitions from Ramón and the East Texas missionaries to the viceroy, and then made use of the opportunity to advance his own plans for a new missionary undertaking. The viceroy asked him to put his plan in writing, which he did.

In his formal petition Olivares described the land beyond the Rio Grande as excellent for a mission, for it would serve, according to his estimate, about three thousand Indians. He proposed as a site for the mission a location on the San Antonio River some thirty leagues from the Bay of Espíritu Santo. To assist him in teaching agriculture to the Indians in the new establishment he suggested that the Jarami (Xarame) Indians from the Mission of San Francisco Solano—his own mission—be transferred to the new place.

Having thus presented the general outline of his plan, Padre Olivares went on meticulously to enumerate what was needed to put it into effect. Besides such obvious requirements as a garrison of ten soldiers and necessary equipment for religious services, the good missionary enumerated in detail the following needs: provisions for the support of the missionaries and Indians, seed corn, forty-eight head of cattle, one hundred head each of sheep and goats, tools for building the church and houses, cooking utensils, and presents for the Indians, including vari-

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colored cloths, hats for the chiefs, beads of all colors, rosaries, knives, hatchets and tobacco.¹

The viceroy to whom these requests were made was the Marqués de Valero, the immediate successor, on August 16, 1716, of the Duque de Linares. Apparently the personal request of Padre Olivares appealed to him more than the others did, but before taking action on any of the plans, he called for a complete report from his legal department on the Province of Texas. In response to this request he received two reports.

In these reports dated November 30, 1716, the French menace was stressed. It was pointed out that the French were introducing great quantities of merchandise into East Texas, and that Saint-Denis had gone to Mobile to make arrangements for a more extensive trade. Furthermore, rumor had it that the French intended to take possession of Espíritu Santo Bay in order to control the trade in the whole region more effectively. Should the French establish a settlement there, it would be easy for them to take over the entire region in East Texas by cutting off communication between Mexico and the East Texas missions. This fear seemed to be confirmed by Ramón and the missionaries in the various reports of French activities in Texas.

The reports then stressed the advisability of following the wise and opportune suggestions of Olivares concerning the establishing of a mission and presidio on the San Antonio River. If this should be done, and the Bay of Espíritu Santo be occupied as soon as possible by the Spaniards, and reinforcements be sent at once to the missions in East Texas, then it was believed, and so the report read, that the

¹ *Cartas del Antonio de Olivares*, cited by Clark, *Beginnings of Texas*, 70-73.

ANOS DE MDC

1753

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MARRIAGE RECORD OF MISSION SAN ANTONIO DE VALERO
SHOWING RECORDS OF MARRIAGES DURING 1753 AND 1754

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

colored cloths, hats for the chiefs, beads of all colors, rosaries, knives, hatchets and tobacco.¹

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THE FOUNDING OF MISSION SAN ANTONIO DE VALERO

Spanish occupancy of the region could be made permanent, and the French would thus be prevented from gaining a foothold.

The viceroy thought that the suggestions of the legal department were good and acted on them. On December 9, 1716, he appointed Martin de Alarcón to head a new expedition into Texas to carry out the recommendations that had been made, and the title of Lieutenant-General of the Province of Texas and Nuevas Filipinas was bestowed upon him, with a salary of 2,500 pesos a year. At the same time Padre Olivares was given permission to carry out his plans. The viceroy ordered that he be given the necessary supplies for founding his mission on the San Antonio River, and that he be permitted to have ten soldiers for the proposed presidio.

Soon after this, Alarcón left Mexico City for Coahuila to recruit his men for the expedition. He arrived at Monclova on August 3, 1717, and two days later took possession of the government of Coahuila, as lieutenant governor.² Various delays kept him at Coahuila and prevented him from starting his march to Texas before April 9, 1718. During his stay in Coahuila, Alarcón spent most of his time organizing that government, writing letters to the viceroy concerning Saint-Denis' activities, and trying to straighten out the misunderstandings and conflicts he had with Padre Olivares, who was waiting at the Rio Grande for the expedition to start.

Detailed instructions from the viceroy on the proposed expedition came to Alarcón while he was at Coahuila. He was to take fifty married soldiers,

² Alarcón was a distinguished soldier. He previously served as governor of Coahuila from 1705 to 1708, and he also held other important appointments for which he was highly commended. Under his new appointment he remained governor until November 16, 1719.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

a carpenter, a mason, a blacksmith, a weaver, and to proceed to the San Antonio River, to keep a daily account of travel and progress, and from time to time in the course of the journey, to send reports to the viceroy. Two missions were to be established between the San Antonio and Guadalupe Rivers, and the missionaries were to be helped in every possible way by giving them the necessary provisions and military protection. A villa was to be founded in the vicinity and when all was well established along the San Antonio River, Alarcón was to proceed to the East Texas region.

When the expedition got under way on April 9, 1718, there were seventy-two persons in the party, with adequate provisions of cattle, sheep, goats, chickens and horses. Olivares, of course, was not with the party for he was at the Rio Grande, waiting for definite news from Alarcón.

MISSION SAN ANTONIO DE VALERO

Olivares had arrived at the Rio Grande missions on May 3, 1717, and had immediately started to make the necessary arrangements for the transfer of the San Francisco Solano mission. While there he received many visits from the Indians of the San Antonio region and he told them of his plans to move to their homeland and start a settlement. He also wrote to Alarcón and asked for the soldiers that the viceroy had promised him, but Alarcón refused to send them. Alarcón was of the opinion that the soldiers were to remain under his charge until they arrived at San Antonio, and that only after the settlement was established, were they to be turned over to Olivares. Olivares, however, continued to write for the soldiers as he was anxious to begin his journey. Finally, convinced that Alarcón would not

THE FOUNDING OF MISSION SAN ANTONIO DE VALERO

send them he started without them. He left the Rio Grande on April 18, 1718, nine days after Alarcón had set out from Coahuila. On May 1, 1718, Olivares arrived at the San Antonio River, where he joined Alarcón who had been there since April 25. On May 1, 1718, when the two parts of the expedition were united, the mission of San Antonio de Valero was founded. It was called San Antonio in honor of Saint Anthony, and "de Valero" was added to honor the viceroy, Marqués de Valero, by whose decree the transfer was made. On May 5 Alarcón founded the Villa de Bejar, which later became known as San Antonio. This settlement of Alarcón was destined to have a continued existence and it was to serve as a basis for further occupation.³

Alarcón had now carried out part of his instructions and prepared to go to the assistance of the establishments in East Texas. He left the Villa de Bejar on May 6 and travelled to the Guadalupe and San Marcos Rivers. Here difficulties delayed him, and he determined to return to the Rio Grande and replenish his supplies before going to East Texas. This he did, and he was back in San Antonio, on his way east by the end of August where he met Captain Ramón and Padre Espinosa who had come from East Texas to inquire about the supplies and reinforcements that had been delayed so long. In company with these men Alarcón now set out for the six missions. They went by way of Espíritu Santo Bay, and arrived at their destination on October 14, 1718. Here Alarcón stayed until November 28, visiting the establishments, distributing gifts and giving supplies to the soldiers and missionaries who were sorely in

³ Clark, *Beginnings of Texas*, 87.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

need of them. After examining the country and making notes on his observations he returned to San Antonio and eventually to Mexico City.

As soon as the Mission San Antonio de Valero was founded, Olivares busied himself with apostolic work. This mission, it will be remembered, was not a new foundation, but rather the transfer of an old one to a new location. The best proof that the missionaries so regarded it is found in the baptismal record. The first time that the sacrament of baptism was administered at the new location, Fray Miguel Nuñez, who performed the ceremony, wrote: "In this Mission of San Francisco Solano situated in San Antonio de Valero, I baptised"⁴

Although the first site of the mission has never been accurately determined, we do know that it was originally located on the west side of the San Antonio River, probably a short distance south of San Pedro Springs. Here temporary buildings were erected and were used for about a year, during which time Padre Olivares labored to win the neighboring Indians to the Faith.

MISSION PERMANENTLY LOCATED

An unfortunate accident induced Olivares to transfer the mission to the other side of the river. One day as he was crossing the rude bridge across the San Pedro Creek, his horse broke through the weak planking and in the fall the missionary fractured his leg. When he recovered, he simply decided to make the transfer to the other side of the river.⁵

A monastery, barracks, and living rooms for the Indians were gradually built. The monastery, with

⁴ *Libro en que asientan los Bautismos de los Indios de esta Misión de San Francisco Solano.*

⁵ Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, I, 491-492.

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cloisters on the second story, contained the necessary living rooms and offices of the missionaries, and its dimensions, according to H. H. Bancroft were one hundred and ninety-one by eighteen feet.⁶ A large room in this same building was set aside for the making of tickings, sack clothes and blankets. Adjoining the monastery was another building of two rooms, in which cotton and wool were stored and light tools kept.⁷ The construction of the church of this mission—the building which is now known as the Alamo—was not commenced until about 1744. On May 8 of that year the blessing and laying of the cornerstone took place. The new cemetery, however, was already used on November 16 of the previous year, as we know from the records of two burials which took place on that day. The services were performed by Padre Diego Martin García over the bodies of Tomás, a Hierbiapan Indian, and José Antonio Bueno de Rojas, a Spanish soldier.⁸

When the church was almost completed, the tower and vestry collapsed, but the intrepid missionaries and their faithful Indian workers began the work anew. The new church, however, was never completed, though we know it was more than half finished already in 1762. Bancroft, in a description of the Alamo, says: "On the southeast of it (Mission Plaza) was the old church with walls of hewn stone four feet thick and twenty-two and a half feet high. It had never been completed, and was roofless, but it was made serviceable as a magazine and for soldiers' quarters."⁹

⁶ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 205.

⁷ MS., *Informe de Misiones*, 1762.

⁸ *Libro de Entierros de Misión San Antonio de Valero*.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, II, 205.

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During the construction, a temporary building, thirty-five varas in length, which had been intended as a store-room, served as the church. The room was modestly decorated and in it were contained the statues of the mission: St. Anthony, St. John, Christ Crucified and the Mother of Sorrows.¹⁰

On September 8, 1720, Padre Olivares gave up the charge of the Mission of San Antonio de Valero, and was succeeded by Padre Francisco Hidalgo. Other missionaries who were stationed at the mission are Miguel Nuñez de Avo and Pedro Muñoz, 1718; Augustin Patron de Guzmán, Josef Andrés Rodríguez de Jesús María and Josef Guerra, 1719; Benito Sánchez, 1720 and 1726-9; Josef Gonzales, 1721-27; Miguel Sevillano de Paredes and José Hurtado de Jesús María, 1725-6; Saluad de Amaya, 1728-30 and 1732-5; Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, 1731-2; Josef Guadalupe Prado, 1737-39; Diego Martín García, 1740-54; Mariano Francisco de Dolores, 1733-35, 1738-47, 1755-58, 1762-3; Benito Varela, 1754-5; Josef Lopez, 1758-64; Josef Zarate, 1765-9; Acisclos Valverde, 1771-2; Josef María Valverde de Santa Gertrudes and Josef Francisco Mariano de la Garza, 1773-77; and Josef María de Salas, 1773-83.

On June 8, 1756, the mission was visited by *Visitador Comisario* Francisco Xavier Ortiz of the Apostolic College of Santa Cruz of Querétaro, under whose jurisdiction it was established. Another visit to the mission was made on April 22, 1759 by *Visitador Comisario* Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Biana.

The mission maintained a field and ranch of its own for its support, which was located directly north

¹⁰ MS., *Informe de Misiones*, 1762.

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of the mission, on a line of the acequia Madre, a branch of which furnished the water supply.

Guided by the missionaries, the Indians prepared the soil for cultivation and increased their stock of domesticated animals. In the field corn, beans, red-pepper and cotton were raised. The records for 1762 give us some idea of the number of animals on the ranch: 115 gentle horses, 200 mares with their stallions, 15 donkeys, 18 mules, 1,115 head of cattle, 50 yoke of oxen and 2,300 head of sheep and goats.¹¹ These figures certainly testify to the assiduity and devotion of the Franciscan Friars.

While ministering to the physical needs of the Indians in the way of food and clothing and while teaching them the art of agriculture, the missionaries did not overlook the importance of protection. From a military point of view the mission was well fortified, for the dwellings of the Indians, the monastery and the other buildings were so arranged that they formed a quadrangle.¹² The enclosure thus formed, known as the plaza, had but one entrance, protected by a fortified tower with three cannon and a number of loopholes for smaller arms.¹³

Some idea of the extent of the activity of the missionaries can be gained from a study of statistics of the Indians at the mission, as well as from a perusal of the records showing the number of baptisms, marriages, and burials conducted by the Padres.

In 1740, according to Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, the Indian population of San Antonio de Valero was two hundred and sixty-one, 186 neophytes and

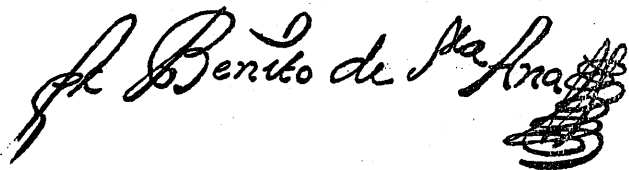
¹¹ MS., *Informe de Misiones*, 1762.

¹² Bancroft gives the dimensions of 54 yds. by 154 yds. *Op. cit.*, II, 204.

¹³ MS., *Informe de Misiones*, 1762.

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75 heathens.¹⁴ In 1762 there were seventy-six families, numbering 275 persons, mostly of the Pa-

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Fr. Benito de Mañá". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, ornate flourish at the end.

yaya, Xarame and Zana tribes, though there were also small numbers of Apaches, Cocos, Tojos and Carancaguases.¹⁵ It must not be thought that all of these tribes inhabited the vicinity of the mission, for many of the Indians, individuals or individual families of this or that tribe had been brought from afar to the mission for conversion.

Therefore, we can say that the total population of the mission proper never exceeded three hundred; but the number of burials, marriages, and baptisms naturally runs into higher figures as the missionaries extended their activities far beyond the limits of the mission.

By 1740, the missionaries had administered the sacrament of Baptism 484 times; of this number 27 were recorded before 1718, the date when the mission was transferred to San Antonio. By 1745, the number had grown to 685. The last entry in the baptismal record is number 1601 and was made on November 25, 1783. The number 1601 includes 68 baptisms of Cocos and Carancaguases that had been transferred in 1757 from the Mission of Candelaria on the San Xavier River. Deducting these,

¹⁴ MS., *Condición de Misiones, 1740.*

¹⁵ Besides these tribes, the records at the mission mention the following: Pamaya, Paialla, Payuguan, Pataguo, Paganac, Papanaque, Secmoco and Siaguan up to 1735; Apion, Tacame, Mesquite, Sijame and Menanquen up to 1741; Tou from 1743 and Sorquam from 1744 to 1760.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

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as well as the 27 mentioned above, the total number of baptisms administered at the Mission of San Antonio de Valero is seen to be 1506.¹⁶

The total number of marriages solemnized by the missionaries is three hundred and sixty-two, for the last entry in the record, made June 13, 1785, is number 371, and nine entries had been made when the mission was known as San Francisco Solano.¹⁷

The total number of burials recorded up to 1782 was 1380. This number includes one hundred and thirty-nine recorded before 1718 and eleven burials of Hyerbipiamos, so that the actual number of burials recorded at the Mission of San Antonio de Valero during the sixty-five years of operation was 1230.¹⁸

The missionaries, therefore, extended their activities farther and farther, converting more and more Indians until most of the natives in the vicinity had been brought into the Catholic Church. When this had been accomplished, about 1785, the need for this mission no longer existed. However, the mission property continued to be inhabited by the Indians and their descendants.

MISSION MADE MILITARY HEADQUARTERS

In 1788, a military organization called *Compañía Volante de San Carlos de Parras* took possession of the mission as its headquarters. The company of soldiers was to serve as garrison to protect the pueblo which had been formed around the mission. Apparently this garrison was intended to be a permanent affair, for from 1788 to 1814, the

¹⁶ *Libro en que se asientan los Bautismos de los Indios de esta Misión de San Antonio de Valero.*

¹⁷ The title of this record is "*In Nomine Domini. Amen. Libro en que se asientan los Casamientos de los Indios de esta Misión de San Francisco Solano Poz el año de 1709.*"

¹⁸ *Entierros de esta Misión de San Antonio de Valero desde su Fundación.*

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records of the mission show a number of baptisms of children of the soldiers. During this period the establishment was known as the pueblo del Señor San José y Santiago del Alamo.

A short time later, February 25, 1793, the formal closing of the mission as a mission took place. The property surrounding the Alamo, as well as the grazing and agricultural lands of the mission were on that date distributed among the Indians and others, and the books of administration were transferred to the archives of the church of San Fernando.

However, services were held in the Pueblo del Alamo until April 22, 1825. New records of baptisms and other ceremonies were begun in 1803 and numbered one hundred and forty-three in 1825 when the priests in charge of the Alamo and of San Fernando were united into one community.¹⁹

On March 6, 1836 the Alamo was the scene of one of the most historic events in the history of Texas. It was the battle for the Independence of Texas, in which Lieut.-Colonel W. B. Travis and his men lost their lives, but the "Fall of the Alamo" is another story in itself and needs no recounting here. Suffice it to say that the ruins of the mission buildings after the siege were considerably demolished, and that after having been repaired and roofed, the buildings served the United States Government as Quartermaster's Depot from 1849 to 1878, except during the Civil War, when they served the Confederacy as the same.

The property adjoining the Alamo, on which the monastery stood, was conveyed by Rt. Rev. Anthony D. Pellicer, Bishop of San Antonio, on

¹⁹ *Libro en que se asientan los Bautismos que se hacen en la segunda Compañía Volante de San Carlos de Parras, Cita en el Pueblo del Alamo, 1788.*

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November 30, 1877, to Honore Grenet for Twenty Thousand Dollars, and on May 16, 1883, the Rt. Rev. John C. Neraz, who succeeded Pellicer in 1881, sold the Alamo Church to the State of Texas for another Twenty Thousand Dollars.²⁰

Then, on February 10, 1904, the old monastery, which had since been acquired by the firm of Hugo and Schmeltzer, was purchased by the State of Texas, and custody and care only, and not the title, of said property and of the Alamo Church, were given to the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, to be maintained by them in good order and repair, without charge to the State, as a sacred memorial.

²⁰ See Bexar County Deed Records, Vol. 7, 373, and Vol. 31, 265.

CHAPTER VI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MISSION SAN JOSE DE AGUAYO

MISSIONS IN EAST TEXAS ABANDONED

The Alarcón entrada had not changed the existing arrangement in East Texas; in fact it was nothing more than a relief expedition. Soon after the supplies of Alarcón had been used up the men at the establishments were looking for more. They were also anxious to have their frontier position fortified by something more substantial than promises. But before anything was done to strengthen their position the French became hostile and the Spaniards were forced to abandon their missions.

French aggression was the result of international complications in Europe. Philip V, King of Spain, wanted to change the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht, and acted during the minority of Louis XV when France was under the Regency of the Duke of Orleans. France, to protect her interests, formed an alliance with England, and this in turn led to the formation of the Quadruple Alliance, and the political isolation of Spain. To retaliate, Spain invaded Sicily, and this was the signal for France to declare war on her, January 9, 1719.

The news of the declaration of war did not reach the French colony at Mobile until April 20, 1719. As a result of the European hostilities, there was a minor war movement at Pensacola resulting in the capture of that possession by the French.¹ Another

¹ This was in May. In August it was recaptured by the Spaniards under Don Alonso Carrascosa. The French under Bienville and Serigny again took it in September, 1719, and held it until it was finally returned to Spain by treaty in 1721.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SAN JOSE DE AGUAYO

outbreak of hostilities took place in Texas, which was insignificant in itself, but important in its results, since it drove the Spaniards from East Texas for two years.

The French commander at Natchitoches, on June 19, 1719, attacked the Mission of San Miguel de Linares at los Adaes. Going in person with a few soldiers to the mission he captured the two occupants—a lay brother and a ragged soldier—at a time when the priest was absent on a visit to his superior, Padre Margil. The commandant took away not only the two captives but the sacred vessels and all the other belongings of the mission as well. He did not even spare a few chickens, which by the flapping of their wings so frightened the horses that the commandant was thrown off his mount. In the confusion, the lay brother escaped and carried the news to Padre Margil.

The French soldiers had told the lay brother that a hundred more men were expected to arrive at any moment to take possession of all the other missions, and this information brought great fear to the Spaniards. Captain Ramón and the few soldiers stationed at the presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores were in favor of immediate flight. The women, who also wished to flee, were ready to join them. Padres Espinosa and Margil determined to stay, and they tried to quiet the Indians who were disturbed at the Spaniards' leaving. Ramón, fearing punishment if he should abandon the missionaries, hesitated to do so until the latter gave him a written statement declaring that they were remaining voluntarily. The two Padres remained with the Indians for more than three months. They did not wish to abandon their missions, but, seeing that

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no help was forthcoming, they finally retired to the Mission of San Antonio de Valero.²

Here the good Padres Margil and Espinosa were not idle. While waiting for further developments, Margil began to make "a monastic state out of a desert place," ministering to the spiritual needs of the few soldiers and peaceful Indians at the mission.³

Padre Espinosa did not stay long at Bejar, but soon went on to Monclova where he met Governor Aguayo. From here he journeyed to Mexico City and conferred with the viceroy and the judges, urging them to send an expedition to re-occupy the abandoned missions of Texas.

MISSION SAN JOSE DE AGUAYO

Padre Margil, while laboring with the Pampopas and other Indians in the neighborhood of San Antonio, petitioned Marqués de Aguayo, the new governor of Coahuila and Texas—who was in the province of Coahuila—to permit him to found another mission at San Antonio. The petition was granted at once, and in 1720, Margil established the mission of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo. It was situated one league south of the presidio of Villa de Bejar, and was until 1722 the only establishment in San Antonio under charge of the College of Zacatecas.⁴ The mission, as its name implies, was dedicated to St. Joseph and named in honor of the Marqués San Miguel de Aguayo. Later it became popularly known as San José de Aguayo, or the "second" mission.

² Eleanor C. Buckley, *The Aguayo Expedition into Texas and Louisiana, Quarterly*, Texas State Historical Association, XV, 10-20. See also: Rev. Peter P. Forrestal, *Peña's Diary of the Aguayo Expedition, Preliminary Studies*, Vol II, No. 7 of the Texas Catholic Historical Society.

³ Villaplana, *op. cit.*, 157-158.

⁴ Buckley, *The Aguayo Expedition*, 28.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SAN JOSE DE AGUAYO

Opposition to the establishment of this mission was voiced by the Querétaran missionaries, specifically by Padre Olivares. On February 23, 1720, he petitioned Lieutenant-General Juan Valdez, alcalde mayor of the presidio and of the Villa de Bejar, not to give the new mission the necessary lands. Two reasons were advanced by Olivares to support his petition: first, because the viceroy had given the College of Querétaro the exclusive right to establish missions in the vicinity of San Antonio, and, secondly, because the Indian tribes for whom the mission was being founded were enemies of those at San Antonio de Valero.⁵ But General Valdez passed over the objections of Olivares and a little later invited the missionaries of both colleges—probably early in March—to witness the ceremony of the formal presentation of lands to the new mission.⁶

Although the mission was founded in 1720, the construction of the present church was not begun until much later. For on March 19, 1768, Padre Gaspar José de Solís of the Zacatecan College blessed the cornerstone. As described by Padre Solís, the church was to be ten varas wide and fifty varas long.⁷ The building materials were obtained nearby, and were of three kinds: calcareous stone, arenaceous lime-stone and calcareous tufa-stone. Today the church has a frontage of sixty-two feet, and the total length of the structure, including the monastery is two-hundred and forty-one feet. The front walls

⁵ According to the *Diario* of Gaspar José de Solís, MS., 1768, the following tribes inhabited the mission in that year: Pampopa, Mesquite, Pastias, Camama, Tacame, Canas (Sanas), Aguastallas and Xaramé.

⁶ *Oposición a la fundación de la Misión de San José del Río de San Antonio*, MS., cited by Buckley, *op. cit.*, 28-29.

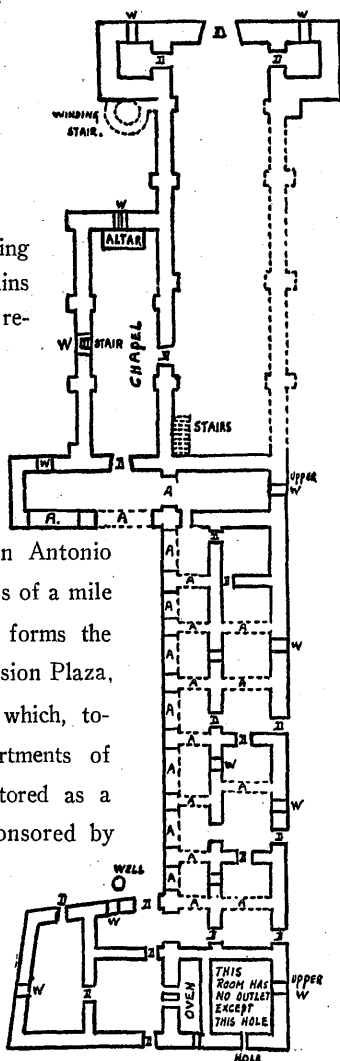
⁷ MS., José de Solís, *Diario*, 1768.

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CHURCH AND MONASTERY OF MISSION SAN JOSE DE AGUAYO

Solid lines show existing works; dotted lines old ruins which have recently been restored.

References: A = arch; D = door; W = window. The church faces a little north of west and the San Antonio River is about three-quarters of a mile to the north. The granary forms the northwest corner of the Mission Plaza, the walls and ramparts of which, together with the living apartments of the neophytes are being restored as a WPA project No. 2370 sponsored by Bexar County.



[illegible]

Dr. Pedro Noriega

[illegible]

Dr. Pedro Xorén

Apr. 20 1787

364. En que malla de l'afon mil necessaries abones
 (Pia Seta) En que malla de l'afon mil necessaries abones
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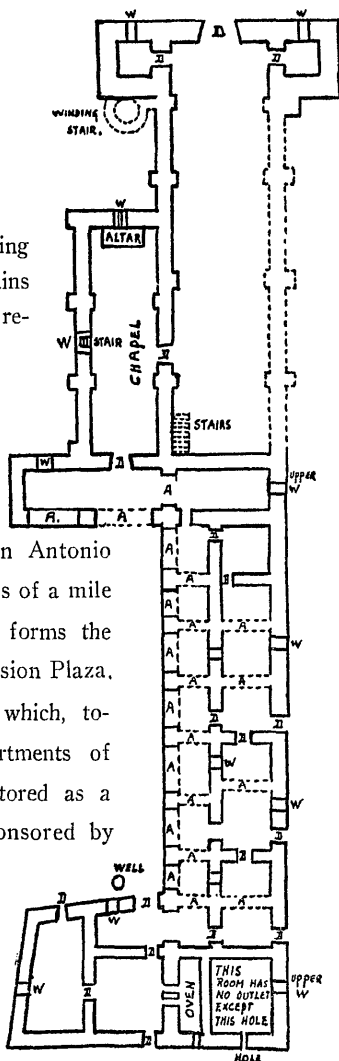
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EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

CHURCH AND MONASTERY OF MISSION SAN JOSE DE AGUAYO

Solid lines show existing works; dotted lines old ruins which have recently been restored.

References: A = arch; D. = door; W = window. The church faces a little north of west and the San Antonio River is about three-quarters of a mile to the north. The granary forms the northwest corner of the Mission Plaza, the walls and ramparts of which, together with the living apartments of the neophytes are being restored as a WPA project No. 2370 sponsored by Bexar County.



THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SAN JOSE DE AGUAYO

of the church are sixty-four inches thick while those of the sides are fifty-eight inches.

The architectural skill, good workmanship and artistic sculpturing displayed throughout, as well as the procuring of such a large amount of building material at a time when transportation and construction were crude, testify to the assiduity and skill of the missionaries.

The two staircases leading to the tower are but one illustration of the ingenuity of the missionaries. A winding stair-way leads to the second story of the tower. It is enclosed within a circular wall, placed in the angle made by this tower and the south wall of the church. Each step of this remarkable stair-way is a triangular block of oak, hewn by the missionaries and their Indian helpers with singular care, considering the crude tools at their command. From the second story of the tower to the lookout windows in the chamber above, the workers somehow set up the trunk of an immense tree and notched steps eighteen inches wide into it.

Another remarkable detail in the construction of the church is the portal, which is beautifully and artistically sculptured. No one will ever know how many hours of patient toil were spent in shaping the pillars and arch of the doorway, nor how many times the slip of a chisel forced the workers to begin again on the statues of the Virgin and the Saints or the large oval-shaped window and the cornices above it. The figures represented in the statuary are the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, St. Benedict, St. Augustine and St. Francis.⁸ Although the material

⁸ William Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, 19. To the right of the doorway there is another figure only the lower part of which remains; it is the figure of St. Anne, as is shown in an old print in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Nov. 1877, 844.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

used in this work has the appearance of stone, we have it on the authority of John Russell Bartlett, who examined it closely on a visit to the mission in September, 1850, that it was a kind of hard stucco.⁹ Regarding the condition of the statuary at the time of his visit he says:

The action of the weather has done much to destroy the figures; and the work of ruin has been assisted by the numerous military companies near here, who, finding in the features of the statues convenient marks for rifle and pistol shots, did not fail to improve the opportunity for showing at the same time their skill in the arms and their contempt for the Mexican belief.¹⁰

That portion of the facade which was not covered with carving was plastered and ornamented with a sort of stenciling in colors, chiefly red and blue, traces of which were visible a few years ago.

To the right of the church there was an entrance to a smaller chapel and baptistry, a gem in itself, capped by three Moorish domes. Evidence of the care with which the missionaries worked is seen in the sculpture of the pillars and arch of this entrance, which are most beautifully done.

Another piece of fine workmanship is the artistic carving on the heavy red cedar doors that still swing on their original wrought-iron hinges. Pains were taken by the missionaries in frescoing the walls of the baptistry, but the dampness of the walls has in the course of years so marred this decoration that a coat of white wash was applied in recent years. This has almost completely obliterated all traces of the frescoes.

The baptismal font of San José Mission is small

⁹ John R. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents*, I, 43.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SAN JOSE DE AGUAYO

in size and simple in workmanship in comparison with that of La Purísima Concepción de Acuña. The baptistry is lighted by two windows: a small one above the altar and a large and artistically sculptured one at the side, guarded with finely wrought-iron bars. This is the famous "rose-window" which excites admiration in the hearts of all who behold it. Although not original with the missionaries as was heretofore believed, it has been copied by many architects and can be seen in many mission-type buildings.

Adjoining the church is the granary, with its arched roof and strong walls supported by calcareous sand-stone buttresses, all still in a very good state of preservation. One of the original cedar doors ornamented with figured brass rosettes, still hangs on its original hinges at the southwest entrance of the granary. It is badly marred but how strongly it was constructed is plainly evident in the cone head wrought-iron rivets which hold it together. The granary was used to store corn, beans, melons, potatoes and fruit; so large a supply of these products was raised that it was said in later years that the mission San José supplied the other missions and all the presidios of the province.

RANCHO DE LAS CABRAS

The ranch of San José, called Atascosa, was located ten to twelve leagues below the mission. The ruins of a presumably old mission in Wilson County, three miles from Floresville, situated on a high plateau on the west bank of San Antonio River, and known as the Rancho de las Cabras, which in 1778 was reported by Padre Morfi as a miserable settlement containing twenty-six inhabitants, are what was the *asistencia* of San José. This establishment

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

consisted of a chapel and living quarters for the Indians who were required to work in the fields and take care of the stock, who were prevented on account of their position, to attend the mission proper to receive their religious education.

Besides the granary, the mission had a work-room where blankets and cloth of cotton and wool were made. There was also a tailor shop, a carpenter shop and a blacksmith shop, and the mission was provided with its own lime and brick kiln. Water for irrigation and domestic purposes was procured by the laborious construction of the famous system of acequias, remnants of which could still be seen a few years ago. Directly in front of the church was the mission burial ground, and it was used as such by the inhabitants who lived near the mission for many years thereafter.

The missionaries found ways and means to keep everyone occupied in some useful pursuit. The adult men took care of the live stock and the farm, worked as masons and stone-carriers, and performed the tasks in the various shops. The women were employed in spinning, sewing and making arrows for the soldiers. The boys and girls were instructed in the rudiments of knowledge, and the whole community was taught to speak the Castilian language, to practice civility, to play musical instruments, to sing and dance, and to observe the precepts of the Catholic religion.¹¹

MISSION STATISTICS

None of the records of the San José Mission, prior to 1777, have ever been located. The records that have been preserved start with September 7,

¹¹ An interesting account of *Early Mission Schools of the Franciscans* by James A. Burns, will be found in the *Catholic University Bulletin*, XIII, 25-43.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SAN JOSE DE AGUAYO

1777. Under that date it is recorded that Padre Ramírez de Arrellano was missionary at San José and also president of all the missions in the Province of Texas. He remained in office until 1781, the date of his death. Other missionaries who were stationed at the mission were Padres José Francisco de la Cruz, 1782; José de la María de Salus, 1783, 1783-89; José Agustín Falcón Mariano, 1784-5; Pedro Noreño, Luis Gonzago Gómez and Manuel Gonz, 1786; José Manuel Pedrazas, 1790, 1792-4; José Mariano Rojos, 1791-2; Josef Mariano Garza, 1793; Josef de Jesús María Cárdenas, president of the missions, 1793-1800; Juan Josef Aguilar, 1798; Bernardino Vallejo, 1799-1810; Juan María Sepulveda and María Huerta, 1811; Manuel María Frexes, 1818-19; Miguel Muro, 1819-20; José Antonio Díaz de León, 1820-24.¹²

Some knowledge of the work accomplished by the Franciscan missionaries can be gleaned from a perusal of the book of administration, which gives a more or less complete record of the baptisms, marriages and burials which were solemnized at the mission after 1777.

The last record of baptism, September 28, 1823, is numbered 1211. In many of the entries the name of the tribe to which the Indian belonged is not mentioned; it is also known that some of those baptized were Spaniards, mulattoes and mestizos. Many of the records entered during the last five years of the mission were of baptisms which took place at the missions of San Juan Capistrano and San Francisco de la Espada.

The record of marriages shows that four hun-

¹² *Libro de Bautismos, Casamientos, y Entierros, perteneciente a la Misión de S. Sn. Josef.*

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

dred and thirty-one couples were united in holy matrimony, the last ceremony taking place February 5, 1822. During the last few years some of the marriages were performed at one or the other of the two missions just mentioned.

Burials are numbered from 847 to 1837. The first entry is dated January 3, 1781 and the last June 20, 1824.

Population figures are meager but are sufficient to show the decline in Indian population at San José. In 1768 there were three hundred and fifty Indians living at the mission.¹³ There are records showing the population in 1783, 1791, and 1794: 123, 106 and 99 respectively. On July 20 of this last year, the mission was secularized.

The elements of nature and vandalism have combined to mar some of the beauties of San José through the course of years, but efforts have been made, especially in recent years, to preserve and restore the handiwork of the Franciscan Padres. In 1868, on a stormy night in midwinter, a large portion of the north wall fell in with a great crash. The accident was due to some repair work that was being done at the time on the foundations. These had not been adequately protected, allowing the water to seep in and undermine the wall. Thoughtless persons who carved their initials into the stone or broke off pieces of it as souvenirs have also contributed to the damage, but probably the worst devastation from the hand of man has come from the companies of soldiers stationed there in the past, who, according to Bartlett, used the statuary and ornamentation as targets in their pistol matches.

¹³ MS., José de Solís, *Diario*, 1768.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SAN JOSE DE AGUAYO

The fact that the monastery with its super-arched portico or cloisters extending the entire length of the building is in such a good state of repair is due in large measure to the work of some zealous Benedictine Fathers from St. Vincent's Abbey in the Diocese of Pittsburgh, Pa., who came to San Antonio in 1859 with the intention of rebuilding these rooms and cloisters for scholastic purposes. They rebuilt many of the upper Gothic arches which had fallen into decay, and also made the large oven at the east end, manufacturing their own bricks for that purpose.¹⁴

In 1934, as part of the extensive public works program engaged in by the United States government, sums of money were allotted for work on San José Mission. As a result, some repair work has been done, interesting excavations have been made, and a certain amount of restoration has taken place. At the time of the present writing, the work has not been completed.

¹⁴ Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, 19.

CHAPTER VII

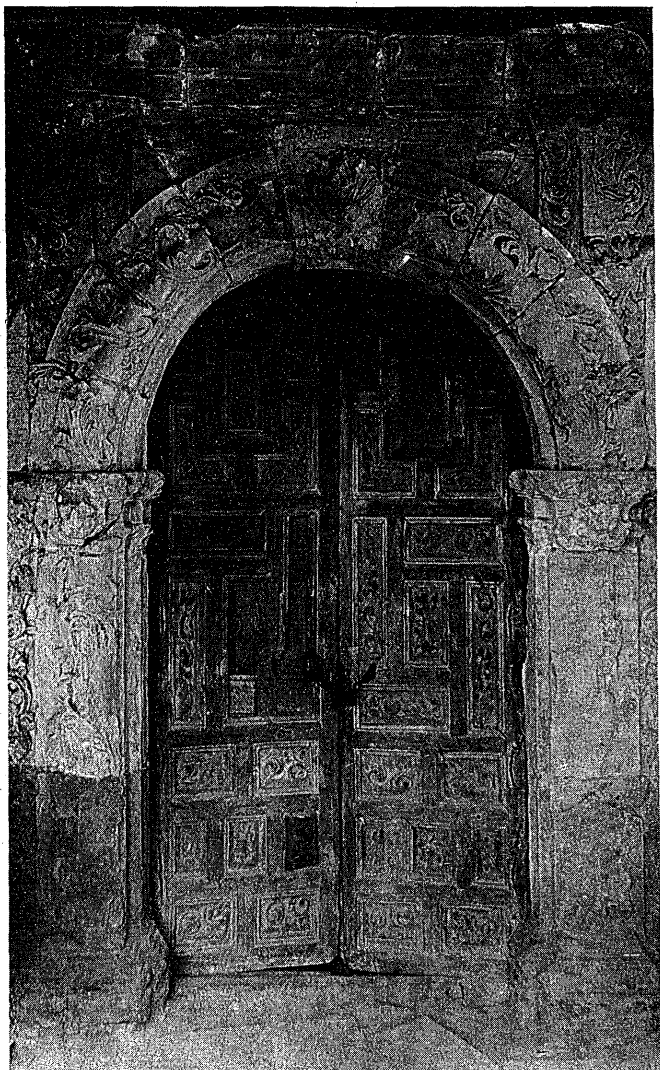
THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EAST TEXAS MISSIONS

THE AGUAYO EXPEDITION

Picking up again the thread of explorations, it will be remembered that the new inroads of the French so alarmed the Spaniards that a new expedition was planned. It will also be remembered that the Marqués de Aguayo, governor of Coahuila and Texas, was to lead the expedition.

Aguayo took possession of his new office in December 1719, but his official duties as governor and his preparations for the coming entrada took so much time that it was November 16, 1720, before the party left Monclova. Even then Aguayo did not accompany the group, but remained behind to insure the proper forwarding of further provisions that were to come from Mexico.

The expedition that left Monclova was under the command of Captain-General Fernando Perez de Almazán. Weather conditions made the march difficult and they were delayed three weeks in crossing the Sabinas and were detained fully three months at the Rio Grande. Here Aguayo, accompanied by Padres Espinosa, Benito Sanchez, and Dr. Joseph Codallos y Rabal, who was coming to the province as vicar-general of the Bishop of Guadalajara, joined the expedition. Rumors that Saint-Denis and other Frenchmen were in convocation with the Sana Indians having been brought to the camp, Governor Aguayo sent out an advance guard of one hundred and sixteen men under General Almazán and Captains Tomás de Zubiría and Miguel Colón to investigate the reports. A few days later, a Juan



ENTRANCE TO BAPTISTRY AND CHAPEL,
MISSION SAN JOSE DE AGUAYO

CHAPTER VII

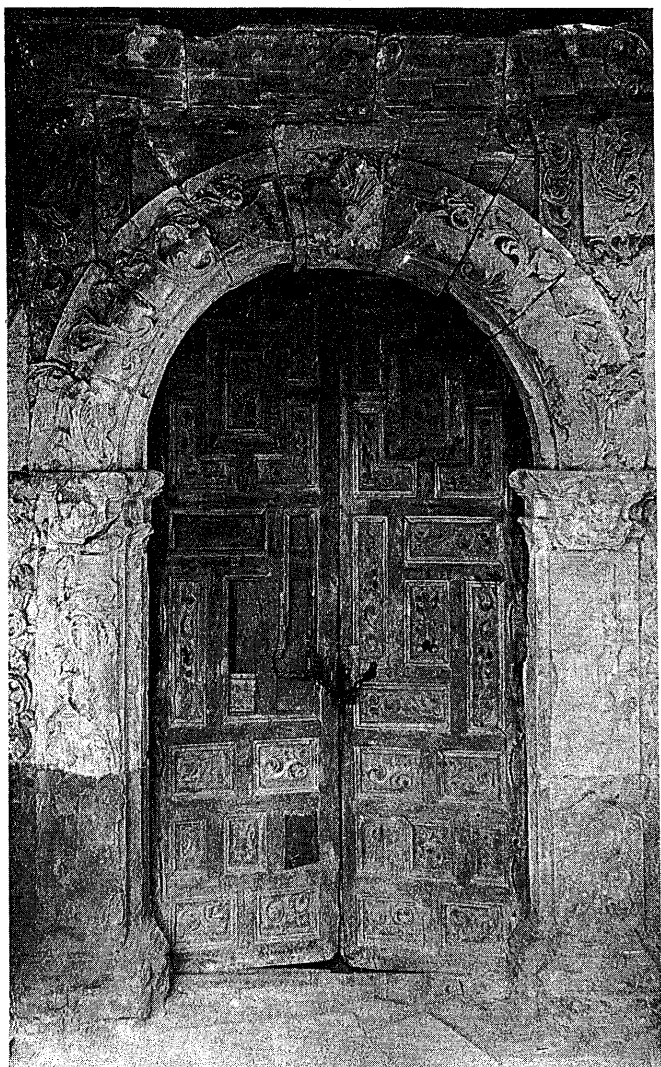
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RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EAST TEXAS MISSIONS

Rodríguez, who had been sent out by the Captain of the presidio of San Antonio de Bexar to investigate the same rumor, came back with the news that Indians of many nations were at Saint-Denis' convocation above the Texas road between the two branches of the Brazos, and that they were well equipped with horses and guns.

Disturbed by these rumors and their confirmation, Aguayo hastened his passage of the Rio Grande and the main body of the expedition set out for San Antonio March 24, 1721. They reached the presidio of San Antonio on April 4, and were joyously welcomed by the inhabitants of the mission. Padre Margil and other missionaries here joined the expedition.

While still at the Rio Grande, Captain Domingo Ramón with a company of forty soldiers had been sent on ahead in order to take possession of the Bay of Espíritu Santo. On April 18, Aguayo received word that Captain Ramón had arrived at his destination and had formally taken possession of the place on April 4 by raising the cross and royal standard. A messenger was sent back to Mexico to inform the viceroy of the good tidings; he also bore a request from Aguayo to the viceroy, asking him for permission to start a ship plying between Vera Cruz and La Bahía in order to keep the expedition supplied with provisions. Since Aguayo offered to bear this added expense, he presumed that the permission would be granted and sent orders to his attorney in Mexico to fit out a vessel with the requisite provisions.

On May 10, 1721, Aguayo announced that the expedition would begin its long journey to the Asinai country in three days and ordered everyone to be in readiness. The Padres who accompanied

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

the expedition besides Margil were Gabriel Vergara, Joseph Guerra and Joseph Rodríguez. Two lay brothers, Joseph Albadadejo and Joseph Pita also went along.¹

Accordingly, on May 13, the party set out under the guidance of Juan Rodríguez, chief of the Ranchería Grande Indians. In order to avoid heavy timber lands and wide rivers the old trail was now abandoned and a route farther to the north was taken. They started northeast, then veered to the east, then northeast again, crossing the Comal River near what is now New Braunfels. Continuing onward, they crossed the Guadalupe, San Marcos and other rivers, coming on May 22 to the vicinity of the Colorado, the crossing of which held them up for about a week. A small detachment, sent out from Little River to reconnoiter, reported that they saw nothing but the deserted huts of the Indians. This left the Spaniards somewhat at a loss what to expect. Pushing onward, Aguayo crossed the Brazos on June 19 and finally on July 2 reached a river which he called the San Buenaventura, now known as the Navasota. After crossing this river and continuing the march for a few days he finally came upon Indians near the Rio Trinidad. They were of the Nation of Ranchería Grande, along with some from the Bidays and Agdocos (Deodosos) tribes. After accepting their testimonials of allegiance, Governor Aguayo promised to found a mission for them near San Antonio after his return.

¹ Fray Joseph Pita was killed by some Indians thought to have been Apaches, when he ventured to hunt buffalo without the protection of the soldiers. His remains were found in September, 1723, by Captain Nicolás Flores at Lomeria near the Rio San Xavier. Flores and a company of soldiers had been chasing a band of thieving Indians when they accidentally came upon the body, which they brought to San Antonio for burial. W. E. Dunn, *Apache Relations in Texas, Quarterly*, Texas State Historical Association, XIV, 206.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EAST TEXAS MISSIONS

from eastern Texas. On July 9 march was resumed and the Trinity reached, the crossing of which required sixteen days. Here Governor Aguayo was met by the *cacique* of the Hasinai confederation and eight other chiefs and four women, who expressed joy at the return of the Spaniards.²

MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LOS NECHES

On July 28 the expedition reached the Arroyo San Pedro, just west of the Neches River and were met by the chief of the Neches and many of his tribesmen. The Indians brought flowers, corn, beans and watermelons and received in return presents of various kinds. On the same day Governor Aguayo received a message from Saint-Denis requesting an interview, which was granted. In the meantime, the Spaniards had arrived at the Neches, too deep and swift to be crossed without a bridge. Accordingly, a bridge was built, the labor requiring six days. While at work on this project, Aguayo was visited by a hundred Indians of the Nacono tribe whose high priest and chief expressed the sentiment "that that which they most esteemed was God, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars and the Spaniards; that air, water, land, and fire, were nothing in comparison thereto."³ The friendship of Spaniard and Indian was sealed the next day by the customary exchange of presents.

Saint-Denis arrived in the camp for his conference with Aguayo on July 31. He had come to say that he was vested with the French command and that he proposed to keep the peace between the two nations on condition that Aguayo would do likewise. Aguayo agreed, on two conditions: that the

² Buckley, *The Aguayo Expedition, Quarterly*, XV, 29-43.

³ Buckley, *op. cit.*, 29-43.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

French would withdraw from the Province of Texas, and would not interfere with the reoccupation by the Spaniards. Saint-Denis reluctantly agreed to both conditions and presently carried out his promise to retire from Texas.

With the threat of French aggression removed, and friendships with the Indians renewed, Aguayo was able to get down to the business of the expedition—the reestablishment of the missions and presidios. While still west of the Neches he sent ahead two detachments: the one under Padre Guerra to the second site of San Francisco and the other under Padres Vergara and Sanchez to that of Concepción.

On August 3, 1721, the expedition crossed the river and two days thereafter the Mission of San Francisco de los Neches was reestablished. With great solemnity and ceremony, climaxed by solemn High Mass, the Spaniards again took possession.⁴ Padre Espinosa, who spoke the Asinai language, explained to the Indians that the coming of the Spaniards was primarily through His Majesty's zeal for the salvation of their souls, and secondarily to protect them from their enemies. He implied that the French were these "enemies" for he declared that while they made gifts so that the Indians in turn would give them buffalo skins, horses, and their wives and children as slaves, the Spanish gifts were tainted with no such motive, for they expected nothing in return. After the final ceremonies, Governor Aguayo left Padre Joseph Guerra of the College of Querétaro in charge, and the expedition moved on to the next mission.⁵

La Purísima Concepción was reached on August

⁴ See page 64.

⁵ Buckley, *op. cit.*, 45-46.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EAST TEXAS MISSIONS

7. This mission, which was the only one that had not been entirely destroyed, was situated less than half a league beyond the Angelina River. The expedition encamped about a league farther on, on the site of the presidio which had been erected in 1716 and abandoned in 1719. At the ceremony of re-founding, Padre Margil celebrated Mass and Padre Espinosa preached the sermon.⁶ The Indians, among whom were some Cadodachos, were amazed at the noise of the Spanish artillery's salute and were awed at the presence of so many Spaniards. Aguayo assured the natives that the Spaniards had come to stay and closed the ceremony by distributing gifts to all the Indians—about three hundred and twenty Aynays under their chief Cheocas, and eighty Cado-dachos. Cheocas was made governor and the College of Querétaro was placed in charge of La Purísima Concepción, through its representatives, Padres Espinosa and Vergara.⁷

A third rebuilt mission was placed in the hands of the Querétarans on August 13, when Aguayo presided at the ceremony of reëstablishing the Mission of San José de los Nazonis, eight leagues northeastward of Concepción. Padre Benito Sanchez was placed in charge.⁸

PRESIDIO NUESTRA SENORA DE LOS DOLORES

Returning toward Mission Concepción, Aguayo, on August 15, reëstablished the presidio that had been founded by Ramón in 1716. This presidio had been situated about one league from Mission la Purísima Concepción, and called Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Aguayo left twenty-five soldiers there,

⁶ See page 64.

⁷ Buckley, *op. cit.*, 46-47.

⁸ See page 64.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

and they occupied the old quarters. However, new fortifications were planned on November 29, 1721 when Aguayo stopped at the presidio on his way to Bejar. As outlined at that time the fort was to be square with two bastions on diagonal corners.

On the same day, August 15, the expedition moved on to the next mission at Nacogdoches. Padre Margil de Jesús, who was in charge in 1716, accept-

Jr. Antta. Margil de Jesus

ed the possession of the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Nacogdoches on behalf of the College of Zacatecas and made it the capital of the Zacatecan missions in Texas. Padre Joseph Rodríguez was made missionary.⁹ "Aguayo repeated the presentation of the silverheaded cane to the chosen captain, enjoined upon the Indians the formation of pueblos, distributed gifts lavishly, and clothed one hundred and ninety Indians."¹⁰

This done, the expedition continued its marches eastward, and on August 21 camp was made one-fourth of a league beyond where the old mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores had stood. Here, near a good water supply, in an area where the high and clear grounds and the surrounding plains offered inducements for planting, the mission was rebuilt and renamed Nuestra Señora de los Ays.¹¹ Another Zacatecan missionary, Fray José de Albadadejo was placed in charge.

⁹ See page 64.

¹⁰ Buckley, *op. cit.*, 49.

¹¹ See page 66.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EAST TEXAS MISSIONS

On August 24 the expedition left for the site of the old Mission of San Miguel de Linares among the Adaes Indians, which was reached after six days travel east-northeast. Camp was pitched half a league beyond it, but no Indians were found there, so Aguayo sent out parties to hunt for them. In a few days the chief of the Adaes with a number of his tribe came to the camp, who expressed themselves overjoyed at the return of the Spaniards, and explained their absence to have been due to the fact that they had been driven out by the French when they had shown regret at the Spanish departure. As soon as they learned of the Spaniards' return, they had decided to come back to their old home.

On the same day, it was September 1, Aguayo received news of Saint-Denis, who, it will be remembered, had agreed to retreat from Texas. The letter was from Rerenor, the French commandant at Natchitoches, who informed Aguayo that Saint-Denis had proceeded to Mobile to report to the governor the coming of the Spaniards. Not having any orders to let the Spaniards settle, Rerenor asked Aguayo to defer action until Saint-Denis could return. Aguayo answered that since such matters could best be settled personally he was sending his lieutenants, Captain-General Almazán and Captain Gabriel Costales to Natchitoches to confer with him. Almazán, on his arrival, told Rerenor that the Spaniards had come to occupy los Adaes, as they had already done at los Tejas, to rebuild the mission and to erect a presidio. Rerenor said that he did not have orders either to allow or to prevent such action and declared that he would be satisfied with a mutual observation of the truce between France and Spain. Aguayo, however, was determined to reestablish the Spaniards in that section.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

Aguayo tarried more than a month in this region, no doubt to make sure that this strategic position should be well established before he left. On October 12, the new church of the Mission of San Miguel de los Adaes was dedicated. This replaced that of San Miguel de Linares, established in 1717 by Margil. It was rebuilt about a half a league beyond its former location, or near the present town of Robeline, Louisiana.¹²

The governor at Mobile, Bienville, some months later wrote a vigorous protest against the action of the Spaniards in reestablishing missions and reoccupying the country, but Aguayo had set out on his return march a month before he received the letter, so it had no effect whatever.¹³

DEATH OF PADRE MARGIL DE JESUS

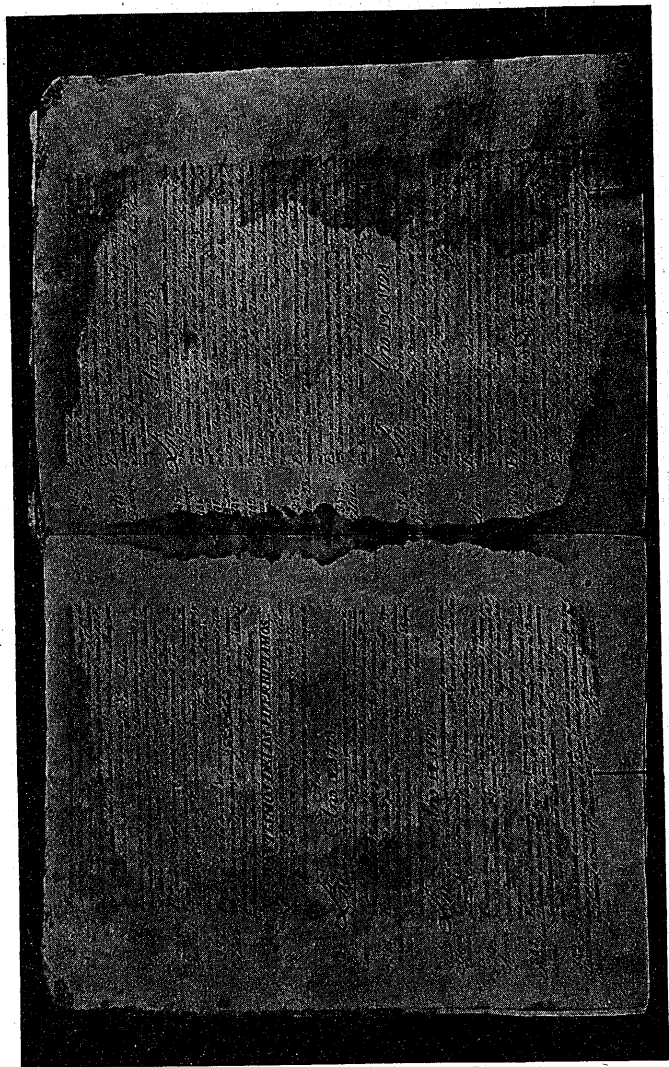
Padre Margil, president of the Zacatecan missions, again took charge of San Miguel and personally looked after its interests until June, 1722, when he returned to Mexico to accept the Guardianship of the Apostolic College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, an institution that he himself had founded. Before returning, however, he compiled a dictionary of the dialects of the different Indian tribes, a work of great value to the missionaries who followed him.¹⁴

On his return to Mexico, he fulfilled his duties as Guardian for some time, but the fire of missionary zeal still burned within his breast and he resumed his missionary work among other Indian tribes in

¹² See page 66.

¹³ Buckley, *op. cit.*, 49-52.

¹⁴ If this manuscript ever comes to light in the Mexican archives where it is probably reposing, it will be invaluable to ethnologists in settling the linguistic relations of a number of tribes, and thus solve problems that have puzzled scholars not a little in the past.



BAPTISMAL RECORD OF MISSION SAN ANTONIO DE VALERO
SHOWING RECORDS OF BAPTISMS OF THE HYERBIPIAMOS

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

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BAPTISMAL RECORD OF MISSION SAN ANTONIO DE VALERO
SHOWING RECORDS OF BAPTISMS OF THE HYERBIPIAMOS

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RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EAST TEXAS MISSIONS

Mexico. His health, however, failed him and he realized that his end was near. He asked to be conveyed to his college in order to make a general confession of his innocent life; he there received Holy Communion and Extreme Unction, and passed away peacefully August 6, 1726, at the age of seventy-one.¹⁵

In the death of the Venerable Padre Antonio Margil de Jesús, America and especially the Province of Texas, lost one of its most illustrious and beloved servants of God; and it was in his memory that Padre Hermenegildo Villaplana wrote:

America infeliz, que antes dichosa
De un misionero Sol, que te ilustraba,
Gozabas la presencia venturosa,
Ya todo tu esplendor con ella acaba:
Llora, pues, hoy su muerte lastimosa,
Pues se ha eclipsado quando mas brillaba,
Y en las tinieblas, muerta tu alegría,
Te ha cogido la noche al medio día.

TRANSLATION:

America, unhappy thou!
At first, prosperous and fortunate, illumined by a
missionary Sun
That guided thee, how happily his presence thou
didst enjoy
And all thy splendor, with him hath ended.
Weep today, his doleful death:
For he has been eclipsed in the midst of his brill-
liancy
And in the darkness, thy mirth is ended;
For thee, thy night has come, in the midst of
thy career.

PRESIDIO OF NUESTRA SENORA DEL PILAR

On the same day that the church of San Miguel

¹⁵ Villaplana, *Portentosa Vida del Americano Septentrional Apostol. el V.P. Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús*, 159 et seq.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

de los Adaes was dedicated, October 12, Aguayo also dedicated the new presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar. It was located in a commanding position on the side of a hill, close to a spring, and about one-half league beyond where the mission had formerly stood. The fortification was hexagonal in shape, with three bastions, each covering two curtains, fifty varas in length.¹⁶ Six cannon and a hundred soldiers were left to defend the place. This was a large number of men, but Aguayo thought them necessary because the presidio of del Pilar was the most remote of the Spanish outposts, and commanded an important position close to the French fort.¹⁷

With the reestablishment of the Mission of San Miguel de los Adaes and the erection of the presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, Aguayo believed that he had completed his work of restoring the confidence of the Indians in the Spaniards, and so he took up his return march to San Antonio, November 17, 1721. Cold weather, rain storms, and lack of pasture lands, made progress slow and it was not till January 23, 1722, that he and his men reached Bejar. Here he stopped for a much needed rest.

During his stay at Bejar, he took measures to remove the danger of fire to the presidio which the grass *jacales*, the living-quarters of the soldiers, constantly offered. He began the erection of a larger and better presidio, thereafter to be known as San Antonio de Bejar, at a point thirty varas from the San Pedro Creek and two hundred varas from the Rio San Antonio. It was to be made of adobe, in the form of a square with sides sixty-five varas long. There was to be room for a church, a maga-

¹⁶ For a plan of the fortification, see Bolton and Barker, *With the Makers of Texas*, 59.

¹⁷ See note 16, page 66.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EAST TEXAS MISSIONS

zine, and wooden barracks within its walls. This enclosure later was known as the Plaza de las Armas, and at present is called Military Plaza.

On March 10 of this same year Governor Aguayo officially inaugurated the work on a new mission, to be known as San Francisco Xavier de Nájera. It was to be located between the Missions of San Antonio de Valero and San José de Aguayo and was intended for the Ranchería Grande Indians,¹⁸ who to the missionaries were known as the Hyerbipiamos. But entries in the baptismal and burial registers of San Antonio de Valero inform us that the projected mission of San Francisco Xavier de Nájera was never actually founded, for the Indians whom it was supposed to have served continued to resort to the already established church for spiritual succour. These records cover the period from March 12, 1721, one year before the mission was nominally founded, to July 20, 1726, and were transferred to the registers by Padre Diego Martín García from some booklets which he found in 1745.

MISSION OF ESPIRITU SANTO DE ZUNIGA

Governor Aguayo next turned his attention to the occupation of Espíritu Santo Bay. Having sent ahead a band of fifty men, under the command of Captain Costales, he himself followed on March 16, accompanied by Dr. Codallos, four captains, and forty men. The trip took only eight days, but it was April 6 before the governor was able to take an active part in the operations, so worn out was he by the march. The site selected was identical with that of the French Fort St. Louis, as was indicated by the nails, gun-locks, pieces of artillery, and other

¹⁸ Buckley, *op. cit.*, 48, 53-55.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

things dug up on the spot. The governor laid out an octagonal presidio with defenses consisting of a moat, four bastions, and a tower. Nuestra Señora de Loreto was named patroness and Captain Ramón was appointed commander of the ninety men to be left as garrison. The mission was to be called Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga and placed under the charge of Padre Agustín Patrón, a Zacatecan. Having made these arrangements, Governor Aguayo departed, in company with those not appointed for service in the new establishment, and returned to San Antonio to rejoin those of his expedition who had been left there.¹⁹

The newly-established mission of Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga was founded for the coast Indians, and enjoyed a rapid but very brief prosperity. As many as forty families of Indians established their ranchería near the presidio, but scarcely had they done so when troubles began. In the fall of the same year, 1722, a fight broke out between the Indians and the soldiers over an attempt to punish one of the natives. Captain Ramón was killed, and the Indians took to flight.²⁰ In 1726 the missionary, discouraged at the hostility which persisted between his two sets of charges, removed the mission some ten leagues northwestward to the Rio Guadalupe.²¹ Here he labored among the Tamiques and the Jaranames, agricultural tribes, speaking a different language from that of the coast Indians, and somewhat less ferocious.

In the meantime Governor Aguayo, who had arrived at San Antonio de Bejar on April 16, 1722,

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 57-60.

²⁰ H. E. Bolton, *Founding of Mission Rosario, Quarterly*, Texas State Historical Association, X, 117.

²¹ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Part II, 682.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EAST TEXAS MISSIONS

left it again on the fifth of May for Mexico.²² Much broken in health as a result of the hardships he had undergone, he reported to the viceroy at Monclova, gave an account of his expedition, and, in resigning his office, made a series of recommendations for the improvement of conditions in the province.²³

Realizing the need of colonists if Spain were to retain a permanent hold on the territory of Texas, he recommended that two hundred Tlascalán families and as many from either Galicia or the Canary Islands be sent into the region. The net result was a *cédula* issued by the king on May 10, 1723, calling for the transport of the two hundred families that Aguayo had requested from the Canary Islands, and ordering the authorities of Nueva España to support the emigrants for one year, until such time as they would be able to provide for themselves.²⁴ But this *cédula* was never carried into effect.

In her excellent summary of the results of the Aguayo Expedition, Eleanor C. Buckley says:

The Aguayo expedition, the last of its kind into Texas, exceeded all others in size and results. It was perhaps the most ably executed of all the expeditions that entered Texas, and in results it was doubtless the most important. It secured to Spain her hold on Texas for about one hundred and fifteen years. This was done (1) by increasing the military strength of the province, and (2) by carrying out Aguayo's wise suggestion of securing the Spanish hold by the settlement of families in Texas.

When Aguayo retired from Texas he left ten missions where before the retreat there had been seven, four presidios where there had been two,

²² West, *Bonnilla's Brief Compendium, Quarterly*, VIII, 34.

²³ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 628.

²⁴ Buckley, *op. cit.*, 61.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

two hundred and sixty-eight soldiers instead of some sixty or seventy as before, and two presidios were for the first time erected at the points where danger from foreign aggression was most feared, los Adaes and Espíritu Santo.

The work done by Aguayo was permanent, and . . . it fastened Spain's hold on Texas for more than a century. The establishments at the most important points were lasting. That at La Bahía, with two short changes in location, has remained to the present; that of los Adaes was the official capital of Texas till 1772, when San Antonio superseded it; and San Antonio, the other stronghold, in the center of Texas, remained the capital till 1836, when the Spanish dominion was brought to a close by the Texas Revolution.²⁵

²⁵ *Ibid*, 60-62.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MISSIONS AROUND SAN ANTONIO

THE FOUNDING OF VILLA SAN FERNANDO

After Governor Aguayo's departure from the Province of Texas the missionaries continued their work with some success, but under very serious handicaps. According to Padre Espinosa, not all were satisfied with the result of Aguayo's expedition. Considering the great number of soldiers he had brought into the country, they had expected him to leave at least a few at each mission, where these could have helped in the work of settling the Indians in pueblos.¹ Aguayo had equally failed to provide for the missionaries' needs in the matter of live-stock, provisions, and tools. Apparently the two "prairie trains" of provisions which had been sent to him from Vera Cruz via Espíritu Santo by the viceroy had been intended, or had been enough, only for the soldiers.

Governor Almazán, who had been left in charge of San Antonio de Bejar by Aguayo on his departure in 1722, kept the reins of government until 1726 when he was succeeded by Don Melchor de Medavilla y Ascona. During the latter's term of office, which lasted till 1730, a *visitador* in the person of General Pedro de Rivera was sent to the province. The picture he paints of the missions in his report is dark indeed. According to this report there was not a single Indian at San Miguel de los Adaes; at Nuestra Señora de los Ais there was one small *ranchería*, but not a single convert; at Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Nacogdoches, although there were many

¹ Buckley, *Aguayo Expedition, Quarterly*, XV, 62.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

Indians, industrious and well-disposed, they were all still heathens; at three missions, Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, San Francisco de los Neches, and San José de los Nazonos, there were no Indians at all, with little hope of ever getting any; at Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga, there were eight families of Tacame Indians, but not one Christian.

In making his round, the inspector gave to each captain an instruction on the government of his presidio. On his return to Mexico he presented a report to the viceroy in which he recommended some wholesale retrenchments. The presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores could be suppressed, he said, and that of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes could be reduced to sixty men; in both cases the reason was given that the missions concerned no longer stood in serious need of defense. So, too, with the presidios of Nuestra Señora de Loreto and San Antonio de Bejar which, he considered, could get along with forty and forty-three men respectively. These recommendations of General Rivera were approved by the viceroy, who issued orders to Governor Mediavilla accordingly. The missionaries naturally protested, and, as Governor Mediavilla favored their view of the matter, he was replaced by Captain Juan Bustillo of the presidio of Espíritu Santo.² This was in 1730.

While these changes were being made by Mexico, the authorities in Spain were reviving the idea of the colonization of Texas. On February 14, 1729, the King issued another *cédula* which reiterated the provisions of the one issued six years before, but on a larger scale and with greater precision. Four hundred families were ordered transported from the

² West, *Bonnilla's Brief Compendium, Quarterly*, VIII, 37-40.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

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* West, *Bonnilla's Brief Compendium, Quarterly*, VIII, 37-40.

THE MISSIONS AROUND SAN ANTONIO

Canaries in parties of ten or twelve at a time, via Havana and Vera Cruz, to the places where they were to settle.³ Again, very little was realized from this decree by way of concrete results. However, ten families and a number of individuals volunteered for the work of colonization. Marriages en route increased the number of families to fifteen, and the four remaining single men were officially considered a family also.⁴ The colonists arrived at the presidio of San Antonio de Bejar on March 9, 1731, and founded next to it the villa of San Fernando, named in honor of the Prince of Asturias.⁵

The viceroy ordered that the new settlement be made into a ciudad and be created the capital of a province. Accordingly, after the settlers had been assigned their lands, measures were taken for the organization of a civil government, the plan of which had already been determined upon. The members of the first cabildo were appointed for life by Captain Juan Antonio Pérez de Almazán of the presidio of San Antonio de Bejar. They were installed in office on August 1, 1731, and immediately proceeded to the election of two alcaldes. When the appointments and elections had been confirmed by the viceroy on

³ Mattie Alice Austin, *The Municipal Government of San Fernando de Bejar*, *Quarterly*, Texas State Historical Association, VIII, 329-331.

⁴ A list of these families taken at Quautitlan, November 8, 1730, *Ibid*, 331-338, is here given: (1) Juan Leal Goras and two sons; (2) Juan Curbelo wife, two sons and one daughter; (3) Juan Leal, Jr., wife, four sons and one daughter; (4) Antonio Santos, wife, one son and three daughters; (5) Joseph Padron and wife; (6) Manuel de Niz and wife; (7) Vincente Alvarez Travieso and wife; (8) Salvador Rodriguez, wife and one son; (9) Francisco de Arocha and wife; (10) Antonio Rodriguez and wife; (11) Joseph Leal and wife; (12) Juan Delgado and wife; (13) Joseph Cabrera, one son and one daughter; (14) Maria Rodriguez-Provayna, three sons and three daughters; (15) Mariana Meleano, two sons and one daughter; (16) Phelipe Perez, his brother, Joseph Antonio; Martin Lorenzo de Armas and his brother Ignacio.

⁵ West, *op. cit.*, *Quarterly*, VIII, 40-41.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

October 24, the first civil government had been established in Texas.⁶

REMOVAL OF THE QUERETARAN MISSIONS IN EAST TEXAS TO THE VICINITY OF SAN ANTONIO

At about this same time the vicinity of San Antonio de Bejar saw its development furthered still more by the transfer to it of three missions from East Texas. It will be remembered that the presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores had been suppressed when its maintenance seemed to be no longer justified in view of the peace with France and the sterility of the nearby missions. The missionaries of the Querétaran Missions, now having been deprived of protection, and themselves despairing of making any headway with the Indians, asked permission of the viceroy to transfer their establishments to a more favorable location.⁷ The viceroy granted this request and a spot along the San Marcos River was chosen, apparently in consequence of a recommendation made by Aguayo back in 1722 that a mission be founded halfway between San Antonio de Bejar and the missions in the Asinai country.⁸ But this site was soon found to be unsuitable on account of the impossibility of obtaining water from the San Marcos for irrigation. The viceroy, therefore, appointed a commission of three to cast about for another location.

These men, who were the governor of Texas, the former guardian of the Apostolic College of

⁶ Austin, *op. cit.*, *Quarterly*, VIII, 294-303. For a further study of the original settlers of San Fernando, see: I. J. Cox, *The Early Settlers of San Fernando*, *Quarterly*, Texas State Historical Association, V, 142-160.

⁷ MS., *Informe de Misiones*, 1762.

⁸ Manuscript referring to the partition of the lands of the Missions of the College of Querétaro, dated Mexico, August 12, 1771; City Clerk's office, San Antonio, Texas.

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Querétaro, and the president of the Texas missions, finally settled upon three places near each other and much nearer San Antonio de Bejar than the San Marcos. Two of the sites were along the San Antonio River, the other on the Medina, below the junction of the two streams. The San Antonio River was sometimes called the Medina, below the junction. Hence the third location was really proposed for the San Antonio River, but mistakenly referred to as the Medina. The next step of the commissioners, after selecting favorable sites, was to visit the nearby Indian tribes, explain to them the purposes of the new establishments, and ask them whether they would be willing to submit to instruction. Three tribes, the Pacaos, Pajalates and Pitallacs, were found to be favorably disposed.

All the preliminaries having thus been successfully attended to, the commissioners made their report to the viceroy and requested him to promulgate the necessary decrees. His reply, dated October 2, 1730, approved the first two sites selected, but left the confirmation of the third to the captain of the presidio of San Antonio de Bejar. Possible danger from the Apaches was given as the reason for this hesitation, which shows that the authorities in Mexico either misunderstood the intentions of the commission, or were poorly informed on conditions in the Texas province; for by 1730 the Apaches no longer ranged anywhere near the intended site.⁹

The names of the transferred missions were changed to fit their new circumstances. Two of them retained the ecclesiastical part of their titles, namely, "Purísima Concepción;" and "San Francis-

⁹ W. E. Dunn, *Missionary Activities Among the Eastern Apaches Previous to the Founding of the San Saba Mission*, *Quarterly*, Texas State Historical Association, XIV, 264-265.

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co;" but the secular part, "de los Asinais" and "de los Neches," having lost their meaning, were changed respectively to "de Acuña" and "de la Espada." The third of these missions had been called "San José de los Nazones." But there had already been established in the neighborhood of the San Antonio River a mission under the title of "San José de Aguayo." To prevent confusion, therefore, the new mission was called "San Juan Capistrano," in honor of a sainted Friar of the Franciscan Order.

The three missions were formally founded on the same day, March 5, 1731, and the same ceremonies were gone through in each case. Captain Almazán, accompanied by several officers of the presidio of San Antonio de Bejar, and Padre Gabriel de Vergara, president of the Texas missions, were the principal actors in the simple dramas. Formal possession of the land appertaining to the mission was handed over to the Indians, inasmuch as the Friars, on account of their vow of poverty, could not be legal proprietors. Captain Almazán, acting in the name of the King of Spain, conducted the chief and some other Indians over the land in question, and had them pull up weeds, throw stones, and perform other acts to indicate real possession, so that henceforth they could never be dispossessed. The boundaries of the mission were clearly defined and to the bare ownership of it were attached the rights over pasture-lands, watering places, irrigation, and any uses to which the land might be put; the right to drive their stock out west for grazing was also mentioned. The ceremony concluded with a word about the duties of the Indians in the spreading of the true faith and in the suppression of crime. A record

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of the proceedings was made and a certified copy of it given to the mission in question.¹⁰

The subsequent history of each of these establishments can be briefly traced.

NUESTRA SENORA DE LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION

At the time of its foundation the "First Mission," or "Concepcion Mission," officially entitled "Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña," was described as being located along the Rio San Antonio, one league from the Mission of San Antonio de Valero. In the language of present-day topography, it is near the corner of East Mitchell Street and Concepcion Road, two miles from the heart of San Antonio.

Information about the work done at this mission is very fragmentary, derived as it is entirely from the marriage register and the reports of civil and ecclesiastical visitors.¹¹ If one is to judge by the number of marriages recorded, the first two decades after the foundation of the mission constituted a period of fluctuations, with results meager on the whole. The only fact which stands out from a rather bewildering list of *naciones* is the variety of tribes that came under the influence of the missionaries.

The decade 1751-1760 was the most prosperous in the history of the mission. After 1760 the records became less frequent, and the last one is dated 1790; but since several pages are missing from the record, it is impossible to say when the last marriage ceremony was performed. The last recorded in the register bears the number 249. This figure indicated

¹⁰ H. Yoakum, *History of Texas*, II, 233.

¹¹ *Libro de Casamientos de Esta Misión de la Purísima Concepción, Pueblo de Acuña.*

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an average of scarcely more than four marriages per year for a period of sixty years.

This same register bears the names of eighteen different missionaries, whose terms of service ranged from one year or less to about eleven or twelve years, most of them having three, or four, or five years, either consecutively or in two periods. The dates would seem to indicate that usually the missionary found himself alone, but that occasionally he would have a companion.

Among the missionaries at the Mission of La Purísima Concepción were Padres Gabriel de Vergara in 1733, José de Gonzabal in 1734, Benito Fernandez de Santa Ana in 1734-43 and 1745-47, Juachim Camargo de Santa Ana in 1742-43, Josef Francisco de Gonzabal in 1744-47, Francisco Cayetano de Aponte in 1748-53 and 1755-57, Miguel Baranda in 1754 and 1756-58, Pedro Parras in 1758-60 and 1762-65, Francisco Aparicio in 1761, Josef Guadalupe de Prado in 1762, and Asiscolos Valverde and Esteban de Salazar in 1766. Josef Francisco Lopez served in 1773-77 and 1782-84, Mariano Antonio de Vasconzelos in 1780-81, Manuel de Villagra in 1785, Josef María Camareña in 1787-89, José Mariano Roxo in 1790, and J. M. Pedrajo in 1791.

The mission was visited by the *Visitador Comisarios* Francisco Xavier Ortiz on June 14, 1745 and on June 4, 1756, Mariano Francisco de los Dolores on April 18, 1759, and Diego Ximenez on September 9, 1760. A visitation to the mission was also made on November 21, 1759 by the Bishop of Guadalajara, Francisco de San Buenava Martinez de Tejada, who was the author of "Ave Maria," with his secretary Mathes José de Arteaga.

THE MISSIONS AROUND SAN ANTONIO

The story of the rise and decline of the mission as told by the marriage register is confirmed by other statistics. In 1740 the Indian population numbered 120; in 1762, 207; in 1783, 87; and in 1791, 47.¹² For the first thirty years of its existence the mission averaged slightly more than twenty-five baptisms a year, but in the next thirty years the number no doubt fell off considerably.¹³

When the mission was secularized on July 31, 1794, it contained only thirty-eight Indian inhabitants. These, as well as the Spanish *alcalde* whom they had selected as administrator of the pueblo and treasurer of the community fund, shared the land and other property among themselves. Each family was given possession of the living apartments it had occupied. All the buildings belonging to the mission were surrounded by a stone wall through which admission could be had at three gates. The two bronze 83-pound cannon which were used in the defense of the mission, as well as the mold for making balls, were kept as community property. The Indians were fully instructed how to take care of their newly-acquired holdings, and how to plant and cultivate the fields.¹⁴

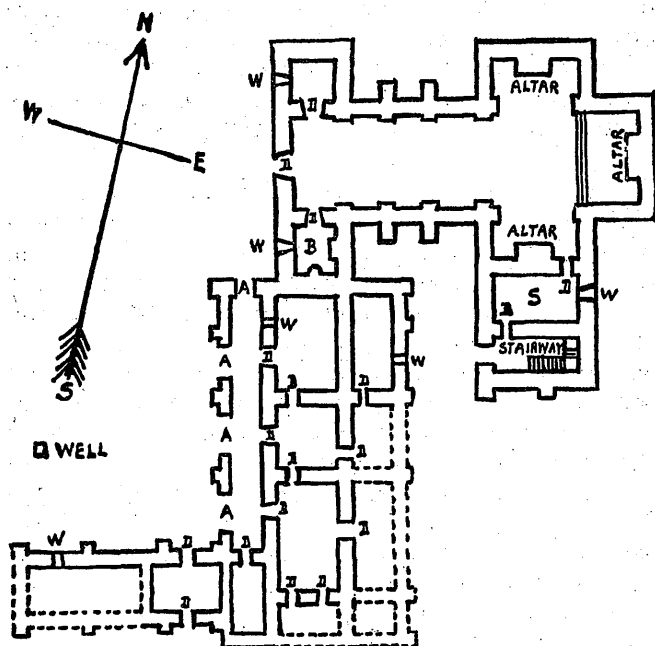
The church of this mission is the best preserved ruin of its kind in Texas to-day. The fifty-five foot front faces almost due west; with its quaint twin towers and Moorish dome it can be seen from afar and presents quite a picturesque appearance. Its walls, forty-five inches thick, are made of adobe intermingled with fragments of calcareous stone; only the sculptured parts, the cornices and the door frames

¹² MS., *Informe de Misiones*, 1762.

¹³ MS., Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, *Condición de Misiones*, 1740.

¹⁴ MS., *Ynventario de los Bienes de Temporalidad de la Misión de la Purísima Concepción*, Bexar County Records.

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CHURCH AND MONASTERY MISSION NUESTRA SENORA DE LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION

References: Solid lines show existing works; dotted lines show ruins. A = arch; D = door; W = window. B is the baptistal chamber; S, the sacristy. The San Antonio River is about one-quarter mile west.

Desde Cmo año Tuvieron
Principio los Casamientos por el Nro
Ayuntamiento este Pueblo el
Año de 1701 por el mes de
Março

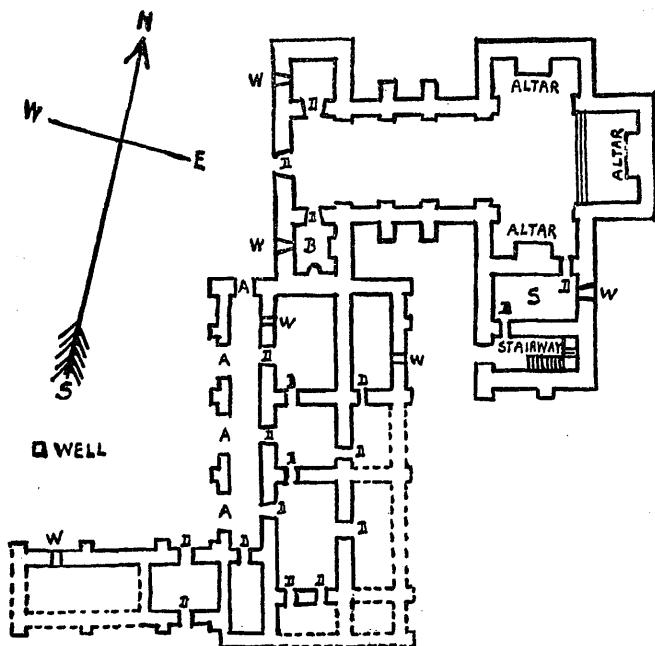
[illegible]

Codex de Mexico Codex / *Middle English*

One negro daughter, and
 one negro son, both
 married, and living
 in the same place.

FIRST PAGE RECORD OF MARRIAGES
MISSION NUESTRA SENORA DE LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS



CHURCH AND MONASTERY MISSION NUESTRA SENORA DE LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION

References: Solid lines show existing works; dotted lines show ruins. A = arch; D = door; W = window. B is the baptistal chamber; S, the sacristy. The San Antonio River is about one-quarter mile west.

Desde Cuyo año Tubieron
Principio Los Casamientos por el
Aunque se Fundo este Pueblo el
Año de 1751, por el mes de
Marzo.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]



THE MISSIONS AROUND SAN ANTONIO

are hewn out of large stones. The entire front walls and towers are plastered, and traces of frescoing can still be perceived in places; its purpose seems to have been largely to give the impression of large blocks of dressed stone.¹⁵ Over the main entrance there is an arch, the keystone of which is sculptured with a coat of arms and devices of the order of Saint Francis. In the corners on either side is carved this inscription "A SU PATRONA, Y PRINCESSA—CON ESTAS ARMAS ATIENDE—ESTA MIS-SION Y DEFIENDE—EL PUNTO DE SU PUREZA."—"This mission honors its patroness and princess and defends with these arms the doctrine of her purity." The cornice above this doorway is surmounted by a simple carved triangle, on the summit of which is a stone bearing the date 1794. The meaning of this date is problematical, as the mission church was completed before 1762; unless the date was placed there when the mission was secularized. Under this stone there is a shield with the inscription ^M_{AVE} (Ave Maria). The side walls of the church as well as the base of the dome and the bases of the twin towers, have conical ornaments at regular intervals.

The main altar was adorned with a statue of the Immaculate Conception, excellently carved, and enhanced with a silver crown. But the present altar and its decoration, the communion rail and the benches are all comparatively modern, having been put in when the church was restored to ecclesiastical uses by Bishop J. C. Neraz on May 2, 1887, and reconsecrated under the title Our Lady of Lourdes.¹⁶

In the side chapels were statues of our Lady of

¹⁵ Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, 15.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

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Sorrows and of Our Lady of the Pillar. There was an altar likewise in each of the rooms under the towers. In the one which served as baptistery, the font, though considerably mutilated by the vandal hands of visitors, is still to be seen; it consists of an artistically carved symbolical figure, with outstretched arms supporting the bowl into which the water was poured. In this room the walls also bear traces of frescoing, a crucifixion scene being still plainly visible above the font.

An interesting feature is the stone stairway leading to what was evidently the infirmary, but the walls above are fast crumbling into dust, and much of this stairway is now in ruins. Another stone stairway is to be seen above the baptistery leading to the look-out windows in the tower above.

The monastery which formerly adjoined the church is now partly in ruins. With its arched porticoes it no doubt presented a beautiful spectacle from the plaza side, but the arches have at some time or other been filled in, and the openings provided with modern windows; its architectural value has, therefore, been almost entirely lost.

SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

The second of the missions founded by Captain Almazán on that famous March 5, 1731, was that now known as the "Third Mission," named in honor of San Juan Capistrano. In the documents of the time it is described as located, like the Concepcion Mission, on the left bank of the Rio San Antonio, but two leagues further downstream. It is not far off the main highway known as the "Mission Loop" and seven miles from the center of San Antonio.

Although the buildings of San Juan Capistrano

THE MISSIONS AROUND SAN ANTONIO

are smaller and less picturesque than those of Concepcion and San José, they are more interesting to the student, as they illustrate more completely the organization of a mission establishment.

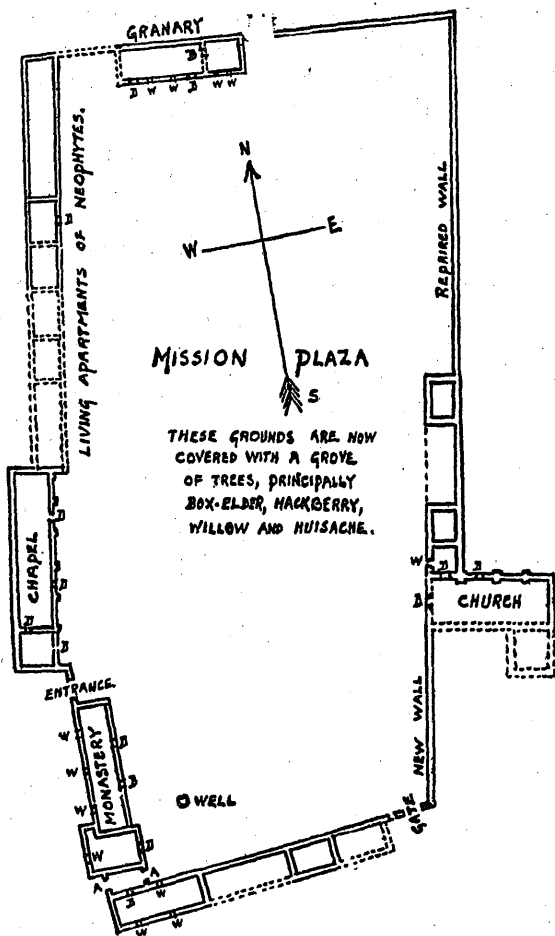
The chapel was of very plain design. Its "tower" was nothing more than an upward extension of part of the east wall, with open arches for the bells. The original red and orange frescoing of the interior walls displayed a curious mixture of Old and New World ideas. All around the chapel there ran a rail and a border. Over the doorway there was a Roman arch, with zigzag stripes and tile work and roughly carved figures of musicians with divers instruments.¹⁷ There were three altars which were respectively adorned with statues of San Juan Capistrano, Jesús Nazareno, and Nuestra Señora del Rosario, plus a certain number of oil paintings on canvas. All the vessels and vestments and altar equipment necessary for the celebration of the Eucharistic rites were on hand. There was also a small statue of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores; the robe and mantle were brilliant examples of the weavers' art, and the dagger was of silver.¹⁸

The chapel as it stands at present dates from 1907, when a restoration was made under the direction of the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The roof, floor, altar, chancel, and benches were put in at that time. The doors and windows are likewise modern, although conforming perfectly to the principles of mission architecture. From the point of view of the antiquarian it is regrettable that it was found necessary to stucco the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

¹⁸ MS., José de Solís, *Diario*, 1768.

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MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

References: Solid lines show existing works; dotted lines show ruins. A = arch; D = door; W = window. The San Antonio River is about one hundred yards west.

THE MISSIONS AROUND SAN ANTONIO

outside walls, and to fill in the buttress that supports the northeast corner of the chapel.

On the other side of the plaza from the chapel is the church. As in the case of the Alamo, it seems never to have been completed; ordinarily in the missions the church itself was the last building to be erected, inasmuch as the other buildings were more necessary and in the early years the chapel amply sufficed for all the needs of the infant congregation.¹⁹ In the case of San Juan Capistrano the church was apparently not begun until after 1762, as no mention is made of it by the missionaries before that time. Now it is completely in ruins.

The third of the mission buildings, the monastery, is at present in good condition, having been restored for residential purposes at a comparatively recent date. An arched corridor, now roofless, connects it with another building with which it formed the southwestern boundary of the mission plaza. The granary is entirely in ruins, and only parts of its walls are still standing. Here and there the ruins of an old wall which formerly enclosed the mission plaza can still be seen.

The inner history of this mission parallels that of Concepción in several respects. Its early years, however, were marked by a somewhat more rapid success. Already in 1740 the total number of baptisms had reached 278 and there were 216 Indians living in the mission, either already baptized or candidates for baptism.²⁰ The next year for which figures are available, 1768, shows a slight decrease in the rate of conversion, inasmuch as the baptisms total only 847, an increase of 569 in twenty-eight

¹⁹ MS., *Informe de Misiones*, 1762.

²⁰ MS., Santa Ana, *Condición de Misiones*, 1740.

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years, or about twenty a year. Even the population had gone down some, though perhaps not significantly: 203 is the exact figure.²¹ But fifteen years later, the number was more than cut in half, to ninety-nine. In the year of secularization there were only twelve families.²² Many of the Mexicans now living in the vicinity are descendants of those who received parts of the property. Unfortunately the official registers of this mission have been lost, and hence very little of its history is known to us.

SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA

The third mission founded on the same day by Captain Almazán was officially entitled "Misión San Francisco de la Espada." It was at one time called "Nuestro Padre Santo San Francisco,"²³ and is now popularly known as the "fourth" mission. Originally intended for a site below the junction of the San Antonio River with the Medina, it was eventually located above the junction, like the other two. It is, however, on the opposite bank, and about a mile and a half farther downstream than the third mission, or eight and a half miles from the center of San Antonio. On account of the greater distance, it is less frequently visited than the others, although superior to them in picturesqueness and historical interest.

The first part of its official title obviously refers to St. Francis of Assisi, founder of the Franciscan Order. The second part, however, has been the object of some bad guessing on the part of various

²¹ MS., José de Solís, *Diario*, 1768.

²² The names of these twelve Indian families are: José Cayetano Valle, chief; José Díaz, Matias Ximenez, José María Rivera, Marcelino Castañeda, Antonio Bustillos, José Ventura Quiñones, Matias Prado, Salvador Flores, Luis Bustamente, Conrado Riveras, and Mariano Texada.

²³ Bartholomé García, *Manual*, 1760. MS., *Informe de Misiones*, 1762.

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writers. As in the case of many other missions, the true explanation of the secular part of the title is to be found in the desire to honor either some Spanish grandee or some Spanish locality. In this case the person concerned had as title the Duke of Espada. The attempt to take the meaning of the Spanish word "espada," "sword," and explain its use here by the assumption that the old tower of the chapel had the form of a sword-hilt, is more ingenious than historically exact.²⁴

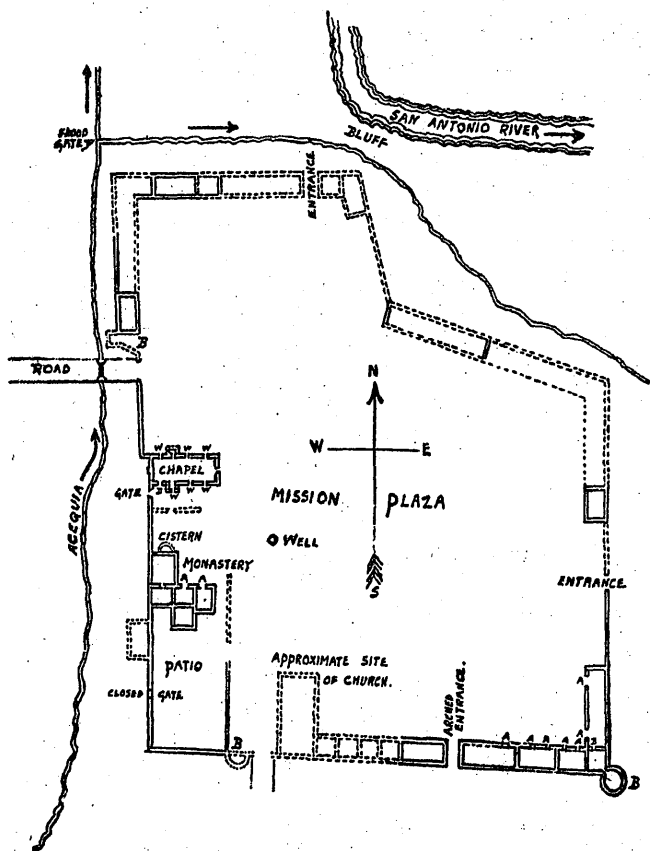
Alternate restoration and destruction of various buildings appertaining to this mission make it difficult to imagine and describe their original form. The chapel was primitively in the form of a cross. It was small, even for such a structure, having a frontage of only twenty-four feet; the front wall, forty-five inches thick, supports the belfry with its three bells. At the summit of this tower a beauti-

²⁴ Another explanation regarding the name of Espada and why the mission is called "St. Francis of the Sword" has been suggested by Rev. Eugene Sugraves, C.M.F., *San Antonio Evening News*, June 1, 1931. He says: While it is true that the word espada in Spanish means sword, yet the word "espada" as it occurs here, in connection with San Francisco, is a nickname pure and simple. It is a familiar, a popular, short and diminutive name. Just as Joe stands for Joseph, Tom for Thomas, so "espada" stands for "espadana," which is a feminine noun; and for this reason it is preceded by the definite feminine article "la." And thus we say "La Espada" and "La Espadana." Now espadana in Spanish means a bell gable; that is, a piece of walling pierced with arched openings and arranged for the hanging of bells. It may be well to remark that the bell gable is typical of the Franciscan Order in Spain and in Latin-American republics.

St. Francis was so enamored, so fond of holy and religious poverty that he called it his lady. Accordingly poverty, simplicity was the keynote of his holy life, the motto, the watchword of his wonderful career, the distinguishing mark and characteristic of his works and enterprises.

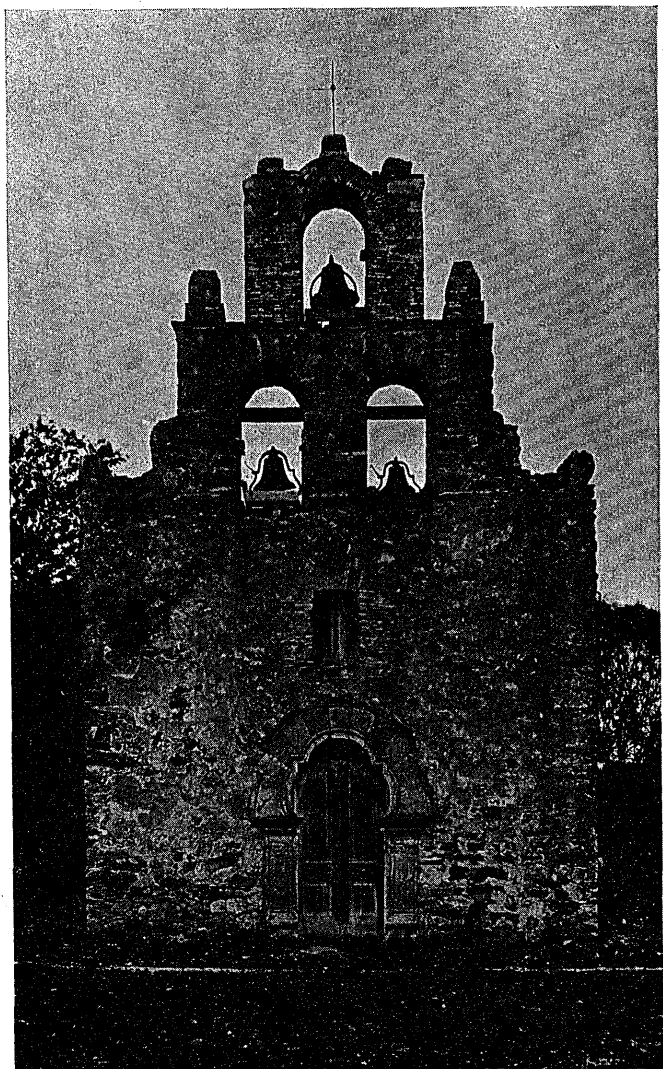
Following the footsteps of their founder, the Franciscans have invariably carried the simplicity of their illustrious father into the convents and churches. Thus above the Franciscan churches we often see the plain and unpretentious bell gable, and as the main feature of Mission San Francisco is unquestionably its quaint bell gable, therefore, the early settlers and their descendants have ever called the Fourth Mission — San Francisco de la Espada, "The Mission of San Francisco of the Bell Gable."

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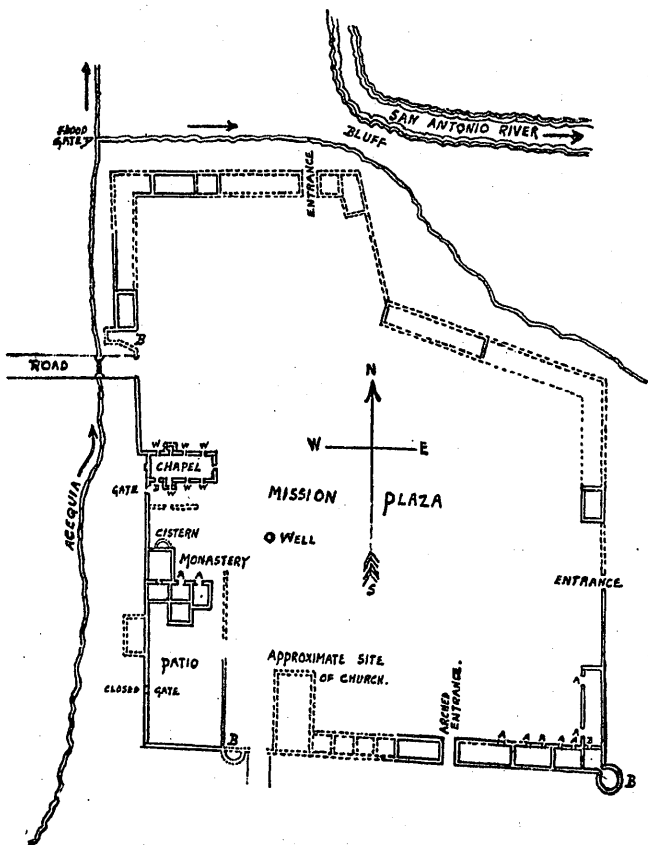
MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA

References: Solid lines show existing works; dotted lines show ruins. A=arch; B=bulwark or bastion; D=door; W=window.



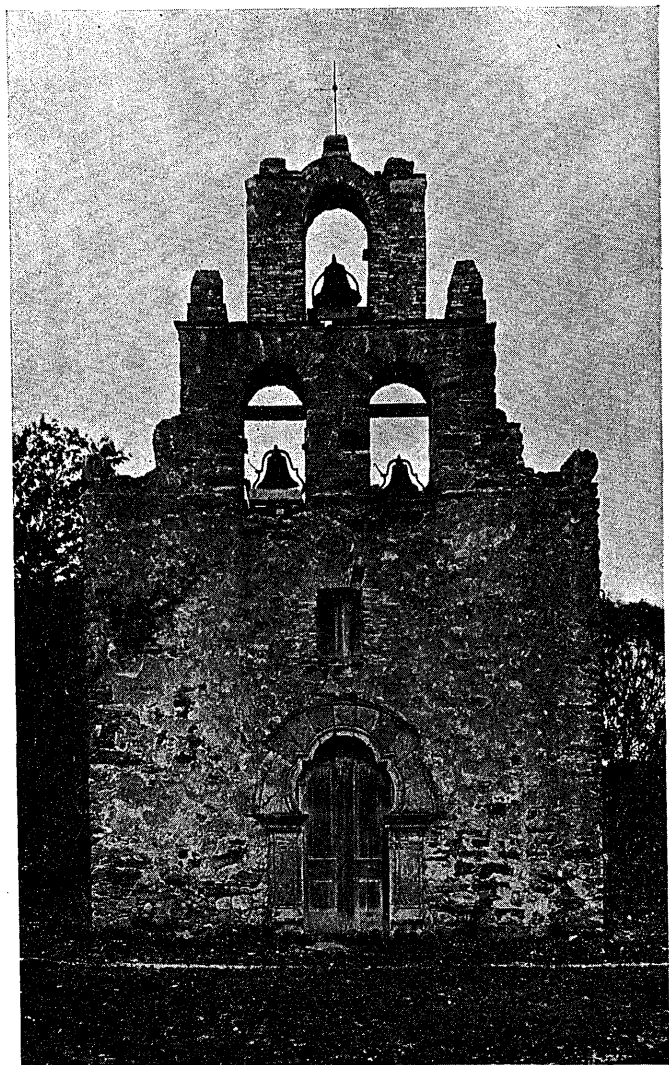
CHAPEL OF MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA

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MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA

References: Solid lines show existing works; dotted lines show ruins. A=arch; B=bulwark or bastion; D=door; W=window.



CHAPEL OF MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA



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fully wrought iron cross is to be seen. The entrance to the chapel is Moorish in design.

The present excellent state of repair in which this chapel is found is to be attributed to the untiring efforts of Father Francis Bouchu, who served it in the capacity of missionary for close to half a century, from 1858 to 1907. At his arrival only the front and rear walls were standing. He lost no time in beginning the work of restoration. With his own hands he built up the side walls on their old foundations, plastered and whitewashed them, put in a wooden floor, hung doors on the entrances, and covered the building with a tin roof. Having finished the exterior, he applied himself to the arrangement of the interior, and made a chancel railing, a choir loft, and benches. He furnished the altar with the necessary ornaments, re-gilded and dressed the original statues of St. Francis, the Blessed Virgin, and Christ Crucified.

The terrible storm which raged in San Antonio and its vicinity in 1883 wrought considerable havoc to Father Bouchu's work, and the roof had to be done all over again. Another restoration took place in 1911. At this time the north wing or arm of the cross was eliminated, the interior of the wall was repaired and replastered, and further improvements were made in the shape of a new metal roof with stone rain-spouts, a brick floor, a wooden ceiling, and new doors and windows of mission architecture.

There is far less to be said for the church of this mission. As with so many others, it was begun quite some time after the foundation of the mission itself. Work was being done on it in 1762, but the scarcity of good building stone caused a halt in the operations, which apparently were never resumed; for when Padre Morfi visited it in 1778, the building was in

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danger of collapse and consequently an order was given that it be razed to the ground.²⁵

The monastery connected with the chapel by an arcade, contained seven rooms which were used as living apartments and offices for the missionaries, and for the storage of provisions. There were also an extra room in which blankets and clothes were made, and a capacious granary. It was in this building that Father Bouchu lived during his fifty-year stay.

Of the stone houses which served as habitations for the Indians in this mission, only the ruins remain to-day.

The plaza and its defenses have also considerably suffered, both from the forces of nature and from the hand of man, for it was here that the Texas Army of Independence made its first camping ground in 1835. But one relic of the olden days remains, and that, fortunately, is an interesting one. It is the bulwark or fortified tower on the southeast corner of the plaza. Its walls, 36 inches thick, are built of the most heterogeneous rocks and stones imaginable, both as to size and as to kind. Through three of the largest of them, near the base, are drilled holes six and a half inches in diameter, evidently intended for cannon muzzles. Higher up there are seven other holes, one and a half inches in diameter, through which muskets and other small arms could be fired. Nothing could indicate more clearly the means used for the defense of the mission. Two other bastions also formed part of these defenses; they were located on the west and south sides of the plaza; now even the traces of the foundations have been wiped out, although a few years ago these were still visible.

²⁵ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 658.

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On the other hand, there are still some vestiges of the walls which enclosed the plaza, and from these it is evident that it was very irregular in shape; this is obviously due to the lay of the land. There were at least three entrances: one near the north-east corner, one on the south side, and the third on the east side.

THE MISSION AQUEDUCT

The most interesting feature of this mission, though, is still to be mentioned; and, strange to tell, we owe it largely to an oversight on the part of those who originally chose the site. For, although the river is but a stone's throw removed, its bed is so deep at this point that the water was not available for irrigation. And irrigation was absolutely essential to the success of the mission, for without it no crops could be raised in that soil and climate, and the products of the fields were the principal means used to attract the Indians to the missions and hold them there: corn, beans, melons, cane, and chile had to be raised for their consumption, and cotton so that they could be supplied with clothes. But the difficulties facing them, instead of causing the Friars to abandon their project, merely elicited from them a display of greater ingenuity and perseverance than heretofore. Work on an *acequia* was begun in 1740 and completed in 1745. The water had to be drawn from the San Antonio River half a league away and transported over the intervening distance which included an obstacle in the form of the Piedra Creek. Confronted with such an engineering problem, the missionaries built an aqueduct which is in as good condition to-day as it was almost two hundred years ago, and is still being used for its original purpose. It can be

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seen to the left of the road about a mile north of the mission.

All records of this mission, like those of the preceding, have been lost or destroyed, probably in the fire which razed the old rectory of San Fernando Cathedral on March 23, 1869. We are very poorly informed on the work of the missionaries during their sixty years of activity here. We know that in 1737 there were one hundred and thirty-seven Indians on the grounds, of whom eighty had been baptized. But on June 7 of this same year, all of them packed up and left. The Indians themselves, and this was corroborated by the soldiers, gave ill treatment as the motive of their exodus; the missionaries claimed it was caused by fear of the Apaches, who had indeed been active from time to time in the neighborhood, especially against the Espada mission, killing five women, stealing forty horses, and kidnaping two boys. Whatever the reason for the flight, the missionaries did their best to induce the Indians to return, but their early efforts met with very little success: by November 22 only seven had come back. The following January, however, another effort was made, and this time one hundred and eight natives yielded to persuasion.²⁶

This mission's success with regard to the average number of baptisms per year as well as the number of Indians resident at the mission, closely resembles that of the two missions previously discussed. The year 1762 marks the peak: during it the 815th baptism was conferred, indicating an average of close to twenty-seven a year since the foundation; and fifty-two families, comprising two hundred and

²⁶ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Part II, 435.

THE MISSIONS AROUND SAN ANTONIO

seven Indians, found shelter within its walls.²⁷ By 1783 this latter number had decreased to ninety-six and in the secularization year, 1794, fifteen adult males presented themselves to ask for a share of the lands and other property then being distributed.

ACTIVITIES OF THE MISSIONARIES

A word about the nature of the missionaries' activity may not be amiss here. Purely religious work occupied only a portion of their time. The Padres had to instruct the Indians in agriculture, stock raising, and the handicrafts. They served as physicians and nurses to the sick, even outside the mission. Lessons in the text of Christian Doctrine were given twice a day, and explanations of the mysteries of faith three or four times a week. Interpreters had to be used, especially when words were exchanged with the heathen Indians. The missionaries were extremely zealous, but the language difficulty curtailed their activities considerably. They studied the principal languages of the tribes thereabout, but these were so difficult and so numerous that at times the sign language had to be used.²⁸ The unsatisfactory nature of this mode of communication, particularly for ideas as abstract as those dealing with religion, led Padre Bartholomé Garcia,

Fr. Bartholome Garcia

who was the missionary at Espada in 1760, to compose a manual in both Spanish and Indian. This

²⁷ MS., *Informe de Misiones*, 1762.

²⁸ MS., Santa Ana, *Condición de Misiones*, 1740.

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book, containing all that was essential to the administration of the sacraments of Baptism, Holy Eucharist, Extreme Unction, and Matrimony, was of invaluable assistance to his co-workers and successors, not only in this mission, but in the neighboring ones as well, and even in those of the Rio Grande valley.²⁹ It was published in Mexico in 1760, and a second edition came out in 1769.³⁰ We do not know which Indian language was used in it, but the title page gives a list of eighteen Indian tribes,—for whom it was intended, namely: Pajalates, Orejones, Pacaos, Pacóas, Tilijayas, Alasapas, Pausanes, Pacuaches, Mescales, Pampopas, Tacames, Chayopines, Venados, Pamaques, Pihuiques, Borrados, Sanipaos, and Manos de Perro.

An interesting epilogue in the history of this mission is to be found in the career of Father Francis Bouchu, whose work of restoration has already been described. Born in France in 1829, this versatile man came to America in 1855 and was lawyer, teacher, photographer, mechanic, printer and historian, with an especially abundant stock of information on the missions themselves. During his fifty years of residence at Espada, he administered faithfully to the spiritual wants of the Mexicans in the vicinity, holding services in the little chapel which he had himself rebuilt. He also took care of the education of the children. He conducted a Sunday school class in Spanish, but not finding ready to hand a textbook which would be intelligible to these simple folk, he wrote one himself, and printed four editions of it on his own press. A bit of an eccentric, he would seldom sit for a photograph, saying that he didn't

²⁹ MS., *Informe de Misiones*, 1762.

³⁰ B. F. French, *Historical Account of the Works on the Indian Languages of Florida and Texas*, Second Series, 296.

THE MISSIONS AROUND SAN ANTONIO

want any one to laugh at his picture. He well remembered when the dome and vaulted roof of San José crashed to the ground on a stormy December night in 1868, and claimed that he heard the noise at his own place four miles away. He always lived alone, and even when overtaken by the feebleness of old age he would not consent to have any one wait upon him. Finally it became necessary to remove him to Santa Rosa Infirmary, where he passed away peacefully at the age of seventy-eight.

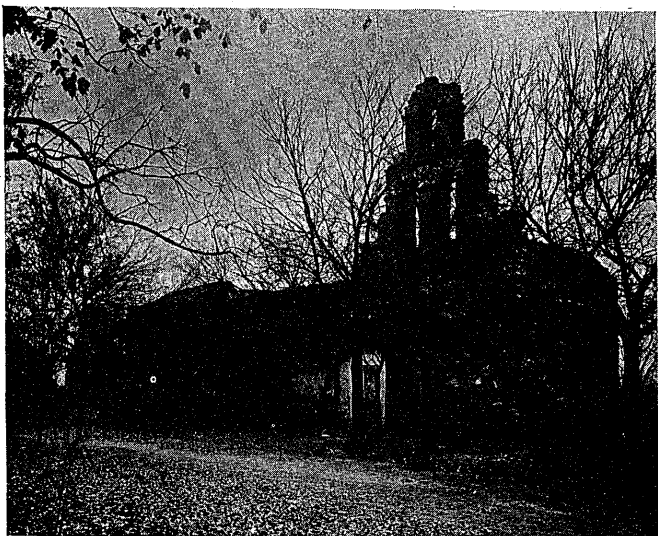
CHAPTER IX

FURTHER MISSION ESTABLISHMENTS

THE PARISH CHURCH OF SAN FERNANDO

The Villa of San Fernando had been established close to the presidio of San Antonio de Bejar. These two settlements gradually merged into one, which was officially known, as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, as Villa de San Fernando de Bejar, a name compounded from the elements of the two former names.

This villa, which became the capital of the province in 1773, had the distinction of possessing the first parish church in the new territory. Governor Aguayo, it may be recalled, had given orders for the construction of a wooden church at the time when adobe barracks were erected to take the place of the inflammable ones which had been erected in the first instance. It does not seem, however, that these orders were strictly carried out, for we read that in 1738 a room, rather small and insufficiently provided with articles necessary for the Eucharistic rites, was still being used as a place of worship. To remedy this situation, the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, in the persons of the head of the mission and the cabildo of the villa, concerted a plan for the erection of a church by popular subscription. The governor of the province and the captain of the presidio not only approved of the project but headed the list of donors. But the 666 pesos and two reals obtained in the drive were ridiculously insufficient for the work; in fact, they weren't enough even to purchase the materials. So the viceroy, awakened to the real nature of the situation by this demonstration, came to the rescue with 5000 pesos out of the



Above MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO
Below AQUEDUCT MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA

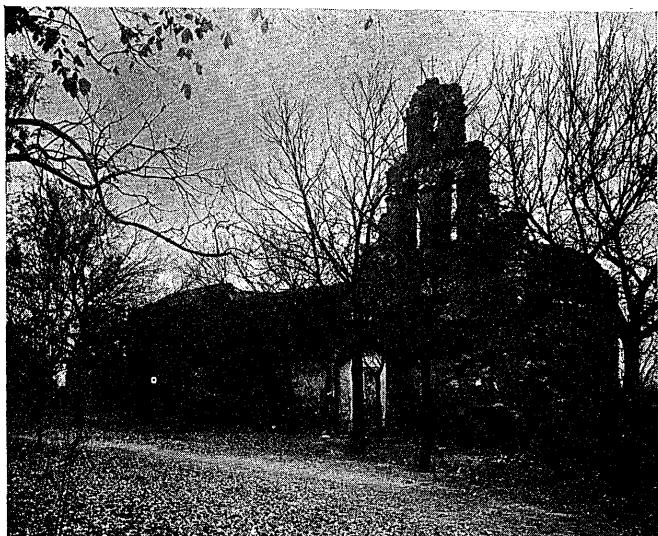
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royal treasury. On the strength of this generous gift the work could be undertaken and completed: the corner stone was laid in 1744, and on November 6, 1749 the new church of San Fernando was blessed together with the adjoining cemetery.

In the meantime governors of the province were coming and going at a fairly rapid rate. Bustillo, who had been appointed in 1730, resigned in 1733. Don Manuel de Sandoval was named his successor in the following year but incurred the displeasure of the viceroy for his failure to prevent the encroachments of the French, who advanced their post of Natchitoches from its original site to a place on the western bank of the Red River. The next man, Colonel Carlos de Franquis, arrived in September, 1736. Interested only in his own personal aggrandizement, he removed the Indians from the missions and employed them as laborers in his own service. The missionaries protested and finally reported the matter to the viceroy; the latter ordered that these outrages and others of which the governor was accused be investigated, and ended by removing him from office in the following year. His successor was Don Prudencio Orobio y Basterra.

Through all these administrations the work of the missionaries continued essentially unchanged. In 1745 there were nine missions in active operation, three near the frontier of Louisiana, one near the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, and five along the San Antonio River. Success and progress, however, were contingent upon continually extending the range of operations to include new tribes. Hence the missionaries did not confine their activities to their own enclosures. In any season of the year, on mule or horseback, they would ride for leagues and leagues in search of new converts. The dangers arising from

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deep streams to be crossed, primeval forests to be traversed, and hostile Indians to be met, never daunted them.

In the course of such expeditions the Querétaran Friars came upon half a dozen tribes of Indians inhabiting the lands watered by the San Xavier River (at present the San Gabriel in Milam County) all of whom were not only favorably disposed, but even asked to have missions established in their midst.¹ The missionaries lost no time in communicating this good news to the viceroy and in asking him for permission to erect mission establishments there.

THE SAN XAVIER MISSIONS

While awaiting a decision, the missionaries, early in 1746, under the leadership of Padre Mariano Francisco de los Dolores of San Antonio Valero



took some soldiers and Indians from San Antonio, and financing their own enterprise, moved to the San Xavier River where they selected a site and erected temporary buildings and planted crops.

But the governor of the province, at this time Don Francisco García Larios, was entirely opposed to the project and stated in defense of his attitude

¹ H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Missions in the Gabriel Valley, Williamson County Sun*, March 21, 1907. See also *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, by the same author, 149-203.

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that the region of the San Xavier River was completely lacking in the qualities which would be necessary for the success of the proposed undertaking: that water for irrigation could not be obtained from the river, that the land was unsuitable for cultivation, and that the probable harvest of neophytes was not so great as the missionaries claimed it to be.²

The viceroy delayed his decision while the matter was submitted to the king of Spain for approval. However, he did realize that the Friars had spent considerable sums of money in erecting their temporary buildings, and thought that they should be recompensed. Accordingly he issued a decree on February 14, 1747, in which he furnished some financial aid for the new establishment, but in which he withheld his consent for the formal erection of the missions.³

In December of the same year, however, the viceroy gave his consent, without waiting for the king's approval, to the plan of erecting three missions on the San Xavier. As soon as the Friars heard of this they proceeded at once to found the new missions. Padre Dolores, who had come back to San Antonio, set out again for the San Xavier River, and in February, 1748, the Mission of San Francisco Xavier de Horcasitas was formally established. Two months later the viceroy received the king's solemn order to found the missions, if, after thorough investigation, they should be considered desirable.

Two other establishments, San Ildefonso and Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, were founded early in the following year. The hopes of the missionaries seem to have been realized inasmuch as all three

² West, *Bonnilla's Brief Compendium, Quarterly*, VIII, 46-47.

³ MS., *Informe de Misiones*, 1762.

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establishments enjoyed an early success. Captain José de Eca y Músqiz, sent to inspect them, reported that they contained a total Indian population of four hundred and thirty-nine: 161 at San Xavier, 176 at San Ildefonso, and 102 at Candelaria. The inner history of these three missions from an ethnological point of view, shows that the tribes that settled in the three establishments, were gathered from three different linguistic groups. In San Francisco Xavier were placed the Tonkawa, Yojuane, Mayeye and Ervipiame of the Tonkawan family; in Nuestra Señora de Candelaria the Cocos and Carancaguas of the Karankawan family, and to San Ildefonso were assigned the Bidais, Arkokisa, Deadosé and Patiri of the Atakapan family.⁴ As a result of his report, the founding of a presidio, called San Xavier, with fifty soldiers was decided upon at a *junta de guerra* held on March 11, 1751.

The choice of a captain for this presidio was very unfortunate, as the man selected for the post, Don Felipe Rábago y Terán, was just as hostile to the missionaries as Governor Larios had been, and he made use of similar means to discredit their work. His report stated that water could not be obtained from the river for irrigation, that the soil was barren, that there were no building materials available, and that the missions were as a matter of fact in a very poor way, there being no Indians at San Ildefonso, only twenty-five at La Candelaria, and one hundred and nine at San Xavier. Accordingly, he recommended that the three missions be merged into one, and removed to another site on the banks of the San Marcos River, where the presidio should be built.

⁴ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Part II, 438-440.

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Under such difficulties friction was inevitable, and the captain and his soldiers let go few opportunities of showing their displeasure.⁵ Things came to a head when a Spanish refugee that Captain Rábago had unjustly imprisoned fled to the Candelaria mission on Christmas night in 1751 to claim the right of sanctuary. He was pursued and dragged out of the church by the captain himself, despite the protests of the missionaries. The end came on May 11 of the following year when the man and one of the Friars, Padre José Gonzabal, were mysteriously murdered.⁶ The other Friars, with one exception, fled, and the Indians likewise deserted the mission, fearing that they might be accused of the crime.⁷

When news of these events arrived in Mexico, Captain Rábago was recalled and ordered to stand trial with some of his associates; but despite a lengthy investigation of which the voluminous records have come down to us, no definite sentence was imposed.

Rábago was succeeded in the command of the presidio by his brother, Don Pedro Rábago, whose attitude toward the missionaries was friendly. He helped them re-assemble a certain number of the Indians, but an epidemic, apparently of small-pox, which broke out among them, and a long drought which dried up the river, discouraged the missionaries completely and finally induced them to abandon the three missions. It was planned to send some of the neophytes to the San Antonio missions, and to transfer the soldiers to the San Saba River. After having asked for, but without having ob-

⁵ West, *op. cit.*, *Quarterly*, VIII, 48-49.

⁶ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Part II, 438.

⁷ MS., *Informe de Misiones*, 1762.

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tained permission to carry out this plan, the missionaries, neophytes and soldiers, went, in 1755, with their belongings, to the San Marcos River, where a temporary settlement was made. No sooner had they arrived at this place, when they were asked by some Apache Indians to go to their country on the San Saba River.

The Indians of San Xavier, however, did not all desire to enter the missions at San Antonio, so it was proposed that some of the dispersed tribes should have a mission of their own. Accordingly, the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe was founded for them in 1757 on the banks of the Guadalupe near the site of the present city of New Braunfels. But the presidio of San Xavier was continued until its removal to a site on the San Saba River was decided in a *junta de guerra* on February 27, 1756.

COLONIA DEL NUEVO SANTANDER

Meanwhile events in the coast country were shaping themselves. The establishment, in 1722, of the Mission Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga and the adjoining presidio Nuestra Señora de Loreto, and their transfer in 1726 to a site farther inland, have already been described. This second location, some twelve miles northwest from the city of Victoria, which afterwards became known as Mission Valley, was occupied until 1749 when the mission was transferred to a third place, at modern Goliad. Two ruins are all that remain of the former grandeur of the second site. One is probably the chapel. Its walls are two and a half feet thick, and twelve feet high—where they are left intact—but on the north side so much of the rock has been carted away that only the foundations can now be traced. The other

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ruin is to be found about two miles away from the mission proper; it is that of the dam which made the extensive irrigation system possible.

In 1746 the captain of the presidio of Loreto, Captain Joaquin de Orobio y Basterra, was instructed to examine the territory north of the Rio Grande and south of the San Antonio River, a region which had long been neglected by the authorities of Mexico and which was now proving troublesome to them because it was used as a refuge by Indians who had been guilty of depredations in Nuevo León and Coahuila. At the same time, José de Escandón himself, who had been appointed to undertake the conquest and colonization of this territory, known as "Colonia del Nuevo Santander," was conducting a similar investigation south of the Rio Grande.

The reports made by the investigators recommended a number of moves to be made with a view to the colonization of the territory in question. Two sites were chosen as offering sufficient promise of success. One of them, at the mouth of the Nueces, was to be provided with a villa and a mission side by side, the former to be called Vedoya and the latter Nuestra Señora de Soto. The other site was on the San Antonio River near present Goliad. The report called for the removal of Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga mission and its presidio of Loreto to this location.

Families were actually sent to the Nueces, but did not remain there long, for they feared the Indians. They were allowed to remove themselves and their possessions south of the Rio Grande.

During the next few years Escadón founded several other settlements along both sides of the Rio Grande, including the *población* of Dolores with

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twenty-five families, in 1753, and the Villa of Laredo, with thirteen families, on May 15, 1755.⁸

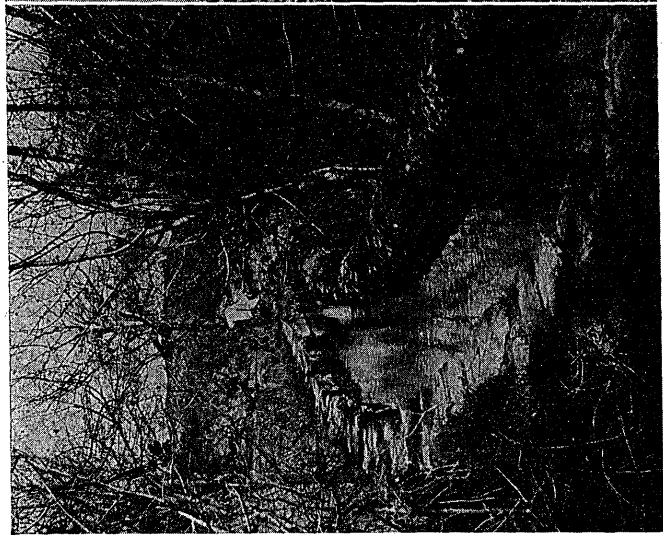
THE TRANSFER OF ESPIRITU SANTO DE ZUNIGA

But the transfer of Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga was not made until some time later, that is, in 1749. The new site, named at the time Santa Dorotea, has been identified with that of ruins near modern Goliad. The mission and presidio were located not far from each other, but on opposite sides of the San Antonio River, the former on the north and the latter on the south bank.

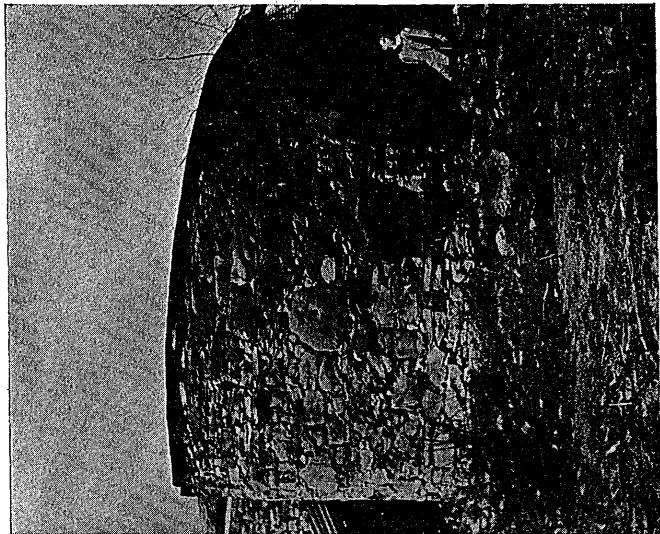
The mission was built on a low bluff, about two hundred yards from the north bank of the river. It is now generally referred to as "Mission La Bahía," and although in a better state of preservation than some of the missions near San Antonio, it is far less frequently visited because it is not along the route usually traveled by tourists. The complete lay-out of the mission is still to be seen: a simple but well-constructed church, living apartments for the missionaries and the neophytes, burial ground, and a community building, with the defenses consisting of ramparts, bastions, and watch-towers. The material used in the construction of the church and the other buildings was a sort of soft sandstone, obtained from below the surface of the soil in the vicinity itself, which seems to harden when exposed to the atmosphere. The river bed near the mission bears signs of having served as the principal quarry.

The plaza is almost a perfect square; it measures three hundred and twenty feet on

⁸ For an account of the founding of Laredo see: Bolton's translation of *Tienda de Cuervo's Ynspección de Laredo, 1757*. *Quarterly, Texas State Historical Association*, VI, 187-203.



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE AQUEDUCT
MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA



THE ONLY REMAINING BULWARK
MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

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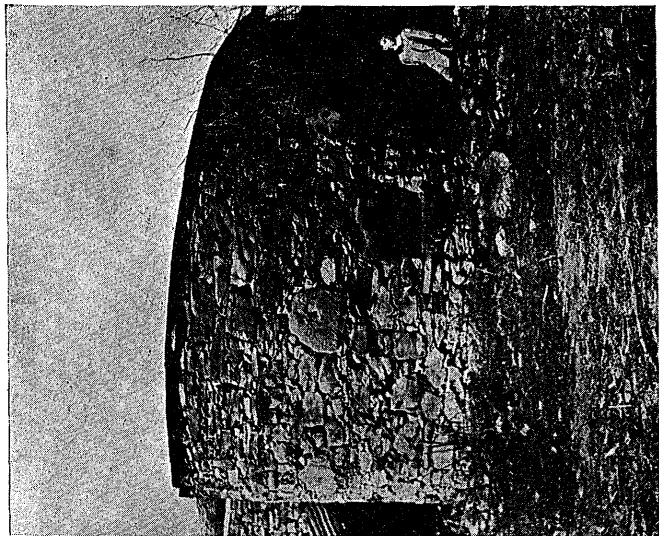
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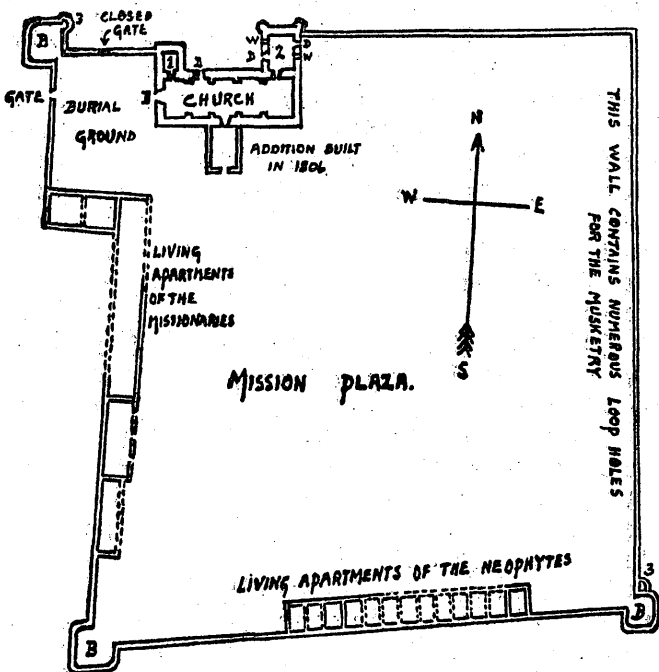
ANOTHER VIEW OF THE AQUEDUCT
MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA



THE ONLY REMAINING BULWARK
MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA



FURTHER MISSION ESTABLISHMENTS



MISSION ESPIRITU SANTO DE ZUNIGA NEAR GOLIAD

References: Solid lines show existing works; dotted lines show ruins. B = bastion; D = door; W = window. 1 is the belfry; 2 the sacristy; 3 are watch towers. The San Antonio River is about two hundred yards south.

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the east and three hundred and twenty-five feet on the south. The living apartments of the missionaries and of the neophytes, the community building or store-house which extends almost the entire length of the west side of the plaza, the row of living apartments for the neophytes on the south side: all these are in an advanced state of decay, brought on by the action of the elements through these many years. A scanty protection had been provided by the thatched roofs, but the roofs themselves were the first to succumb. Towers in the northwest and southeast corners served to guard the four sides of the plaza, and three bastions completed the defenses.

The church is seventy-eight and a half feet long and nineteen and a half feet wide, and its walls are no less than four feet thick. The sacristy, two stories high, formed the northeastern portion of the building; its walls, less massive than those of the church itself, gradually fell into ruin. In 1890 they were partly restored and a shingle roof put over the whole. The belfry, to the left of the main entrance, originally contained two bells; one of them has been rehung, but the other, badly cracked, is on exhibition within the church: it is of copper alloy and bears the inscription EL SANTISIMO [SA-] CRAMENTO. 1756. The main entrance bears a plain arch, with piers slightly projecting from the building, and is capped with a cornice to match the abutments; the doors actually in use are modern, but the original ones, of red cedar four inches thick and held together with wooden pins, are still preserved and are also on exhibition in the mission. Above this entrance is to be found the only window in the entire structure; it is of stained glass, octagonal in shape, and surrounded with a frame of scroll

FURTHER MISSION ESTABLISHMENTS

iron work. It was in this church that Colonel J. W. Fannin and his men were held prisoners and murdered in cold blood by the soldiers of Santa Anna on March 27, 1836.

The ruins on the opposite side of the river are simply those of the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, which was transplanted at the same time as the mission itself. They are sometimes erroneously spoken of as the "Aranama Mission."

Only scattered bits of information about the history and fate of this mission have reached us. One rather eloquent survival is the old missal now on exhibition in the church, dated at Antwerp in 1728.

Some rather sketchy statistics are the only clue we have to the success and failure of the missionaries' labors. In 1768 the registers showed that 623 baptisms had been administered and 278 burials had been performed since the founding of the mission in 1722. Padre Joseph López, the missionary at the time, reported that about three hundred Indians of the Xaraname, Tamique, Piguique and Manos de Perro tribes were living in the mission; of these, said he, thirty Indians were able to handle guns in defense of the establishment, and thirty-five could wield the spear and the bow and arrow.⁹ By 1785 the Indian population had dwindled to one hundred and sixteen, of which number thirty-nine were children.

The Indians of this mission presented a special problem in addition to the many that generally confronted the missionaries. Living not far from the Rosario Mission, some of them would steal off to the woods and meet the Cujane and Carancagua Indians from there, in order to take part in the

⁹ MS., José de Solís, *Diario*, 1768.

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mitote, a diabolical dance.¹⁰ The prudent missionaries refrained from punishing their charges for this failure against discipline, but sought rather to wean them from their bad habits by indirect means; so they organized at the mission itself dances of an innocent nature, led the natives to dance to the tune of the violin and the guitar, and made such occasions attractive and colorful by the use of decent garments, together with such decorations as palm leaves, crowns, masks, and even the *ayacascles*.

The principal support of this mission consisted in its cattle and other livestock, of which it possessed large herds. These were raised at the Rancho de los Corralitos de Reyes near the Guadalupe River at a place called Sinfonía, through which the Arroyo Deto with an appreciable stream wound its way.¹¹

MISSION NUESTRA SENORA DEL ROSARIO

Mention has been made of the Rosario Mission. The circumstances leading to its foundation and what is known of its history must now be recounted.

In the year 1750, the Querétaran missions of the Rio San Antonio district were rather short of neophytes. Padre Dolores conceived the idea of gathering together the Cujanes Indians in order to bring them under religious influence. Early in the following year, therefore, he sent these Indians a Coco neophyte from the Mission of San Antonio de Valero, bearing gifts and the promise of a missionary in the near future. This move was looked upon with considerable disfavor by the Zacatecans who were in charge of the neighboring Zuñiga mission, and they regarded Padre Dolores' action as an in-

¹⁰ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 659.

¹¹ MS., José de Solís, *Diario*, 1768.

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vasion of their territory. The latter defended his action—which was certainly against the letter of the law on the matter—by calling attention to the fact that he had received permission from Padre Gonzales of Espíritu Santo; that the Zacatecans had had very little success with the Jaranames at Espíritu Santo and, therefore, could not be expected to fare any better with the Cujanes. Words were bandied back and forth for about a year, but finally, in the latter part of 1752 a compromise was reached, providing that the two colleges should work conjointly on the new project.

Authorization had now to be secured from the civil powers, and with the view to obtaining it Padre Juan de Dios Camberos of Zuñiga went to Mexico to confer with the viceroy. He gave it as his opinion that it would be inadvisable to put the Cujanes and cognate tribes in the same mission with the Jaranames, from whom they differed considerably in language and customs. However, to save the expense of equipping a new mission, Padre Camberos suggested that the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores among the Ais Indians, which, he said, was now useless, should be transferred to the neighborhood of La Bahía and opened to the Cujanes. But the Friars in charge of the eastern frontier mission were far from being of one mind with Padre Camberos on the subject of its uselessness; on the contrary, when Padre Francisco Vallejo, president of the Zacatecan mission, received the viceroy's order to send all ornaments, furniture and other belongings of the Ais mission to Espíritu Santo, he wrote to the guardian of the college at Zacatecas in protest. Since the foundation of the mission, he said, one hundred and fifty-eight Indians had been baptized *in articulo mortis*; and the Indians had grown ac-

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customed to rely upon the missionary as doctor and nurse; accordingly, he would defer the execution of the order, which he hoped would be rescinded by further instructions. This, in fact, was done. The viceroy decided that the Ais mission should continue to function and that an entirely separate establishment should be organized for the Cujanes.

In the meantime, however, steps had already been taken on the spot itself. Captain Manuel Ramirez de la Piszina, the new commandant of the presidio of Loreto and the missionaries of Espiritu Santo had already started the work of transfer. Funds from private sources made it possible to begin the construction of the new mission buildings in November of 1754. Within two months the most essential buildings, including the church, were up. Some furniture was borrowed from Espiritu Santo and Captain Piszina sent nine soldiers to act as a guard and to help the Indians in ploughing and planting maize. The new mission was given the name, Nuestra Señora del Rosario de los Cujanes, or more simply, "Misión del Santísimo Rosario."¹²

In 1768 the mission was reported as being in excellent condition. Padre Gaspar José de Solís, who visited it officially in that year, said that all the buildings, including those intended to house the missionaries, soldiers and Indians, were solidly constructed; that the inside walls of the church were plastered; that a strong stockade protected the mission from possible forays by savage tribes; and that the livestock, which he enumerated in detail, was sufficient to guarantee prosperity.

The priest in charge at this time was Padre Josef Escovar. Kind and considerate, gentle in his deal-

¹² Bolton, *The Founding of Mission Rosario, Quarterly*, X, 120-133.

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ings with the Indians, he soon won their confidence. He not only taught them how to pray and showed them how to work, but aided them in their corporal and spiritual necessities. In the evening after sunset he gathered them together by the ringing of the bell for the recitation of prayers in common, the explanation of the mysteries of faith, exhortation to keep the commandments of God and of the Church, and instruction in the things that pertained to their salvation. Whenever he found it necessary to punish an Indian, he did so with moderation, never exceeding the bounds of paternal charity.¹³

After some years the missionaries experienced great difficulty in keeping the Indians at the mission. Despite the fact that the Friars gave the Indians everything that they needed to eat and to wear, yet many of them preferred to do without the assistance of the missionaries in order to be at liberty. Consequently, they left the establishment. During the decade from 1781 to 1791 the mission was temporarily abandoned, and in 1793 there were only thirty-three Indians living there.

The ruins of the Rosario Mission are located some three miles from Goliad and four miles southwest of Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga, near the banks of the San Antonio River, on the property of the late T. M. O'Connor. Recently the O'Connor family deeded the site to the State of Texas for a park, and although only parts of the walls remain of the mission, it is to be hoped that a restoration will be made in the near future.

MISSION NUESTRA SENORA DE LA LUZ

Another mission establishment in the coast coun-

¹³ MS., José de Solís, *Diario*, 1768.

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try, of which even less is known, but which probably antedated Rosario by a few years, is that of Nuestra Señora de la Luz del Orcoquisac. It was first proposed by Captain Orobio y Basterra in 1747 to take care of the Arkokisa Indians, who, counting three hundred families and living in five rancherías, had expressed a desire to live in a mission.¹⁴ The date of its foundation is uncertain, but 1756 seems the most probable in view of the fact that in this year Governor Jacinto de Barrios y Jáuregui established the presidio of San Agustín de Ahumada at El Orcoquisac, near the mouth of the Trinity River to prevent the French from settling in this region and from trading with the Arkokisa and Bidai Indians.¹⁵ At any rate it is known for certain that the mission was under the jurisdiction of the College of Guadalupe de Zacatecas, that Padres Bruno Chavira and Marcos Satereyn were the first missionaries and that Padre Chavira succumbed to the unhealthfulness of the country and died on June 27, 1757;¹⁶ also, that Padre Anastasio Romero was missionary in 1758.¹⁷

The mission never did thrive, and there was frequent talk of moving it to Los Horconsitas, a site three or four leagues up the river, but the transfer was never made. The end came in 1764 or shortly thereafter as the result of fighting among the military themselves, for soldiers sent on orders of Governor Angel de Martos y Navarrete, who began his administration in February, 1759, to arrest Captain Rafael Martinez Pacheco, the commandant,

¹⁴ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Part II, 92.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 423.

¹⁶ Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, 347-348.

¹⁷ Edmond J. Schmitt, *Catalogue of Franciscan Missionaries in Texas*, 9.

FURTHER MISSION ESTABLISHMENTS

burnt down the presidio, and the mission, deprived of protection, was later abandoned.¹⁸

¹⁸ West, *op. cit.*, *Quarterly*, VIII, 57, 70. Bolton, *Ibid.*, 357, says: That the presidio was only partially burned, that it was subsequently repaired and that in 1766 a storm damaged both the presidio and mission.

CHAPTER X

THE SECULARIZATION OF THE MISSIONS

MISSIONS FOR THE APACHES

Passing allusion has already been made to the proposed removal of the presidio of San Xavier made on February 27, 1756, and to the transfer of one of the abandoned missions along the San Xavier River to the San Saba River, with the view of making an attempt at the conversion of the Apache Indians. If this should be successful, it was proposed to establish others for the same tribe, and even extend operations to the Comanches, who had hitherto proved equally stubborn in resisting missionary advances.

The prime mover in the establishment of the San Xavier missions had been Padre Mariano Francisco de los Dolores, attached to the Mission of San Antonio de Valero. This indefatigable man now directed his energies to the realization of another of his favorite projects, the establishment of missions for the Apache Indians, but his request for authorization was met by the cold reply that it was impossible to spend twenty thousand pesos a year for every petty band of Indians that manifested a desire to enter a mission.

The next one to interest himself in the Apaches was Padre Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, president of the Querétaran missions of the San Antonio district. To urge his plea he made a personal journey to Mexico. He proposed that the presidio of San Antonio de Bejar, with its entire garrison, be transferred to a site along the Pedernales River, a branch of the Colorado, which the Apaches fre-

THE SECULARIZATION OF THE MISSIONS

quented especially during the buffalo season. The unprotected state in which this removal would leave the villa of San Fernando was advanced as the principal ground for refusing his request.

Another effort in behalf of the same tribe met with more success. Padre Alonzo Giraldo de Terreros, then stationed at San Juan Bautista, was able to make out a stronger case for an Apache mission along the Rio Grande, since more than nine hundred Indians of the Nataje, Sibola and Tucubante tribes, encamped on both sides of this river, manifested an inclination to enter a mission. The authorities in Mexico, moved by the appeal of Padre Terreros, decided to investigate the possibilities. An expedition headed by the lieutenant-governor of Coahuila, Don Juan Antonio de Bustillo y Zevallos, set out from the presidio of San Juan Bautista on November 13, 1754. Apparently they found conditions as reported, for they lost no time selecting a site, probably about eighteen leagues west of San Juan Bautista. The Indians expressed their approval of the place chosen, for the land was good and there was an abundant supply of water. Thus, on December 21, was the Mission of San Lorenzo founded.

Padre Terreros himself took charge. The necessary buildings were constructed, and in less than three months fifty-two Apache Indians were on hand, including three chiefs named by the Spaniards El Gordo, El de Godo, and Bigotes. An Ypande Indian named Francisco de Norte served as interpreter.

The history of this mission is as short as it is sad. Neither Padre Terreros nor his successor, Padre Diego Martín García, stayed in charge very long. The third incumbent, Padre Felix Gutierrez Varona, was appointed on June 18, 1755. He did all in

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

his power to satisfy the Indians but their discontent grew and grew until finally on the night of October 4, 1755, less than ten months after the foundation, they rose up in revolt, burned the buildings of the mission, and returned to their previous mode of life.¹

SAN SABA MISSION

This failure promoted a plan to establish missions in the Apaches' own country. The work was pushed with the greater enthusiasm as Don Pedro de Terreros, Conde de Regla, offered to finance for three years, out of his private funds, as many as twenty missions among the Apaches. Colonel Diego Ortiz Parrilla was appointed to head the military part of the new foundation and instructed to recruit twenty-seven men himself, take twenty-two from the presidio of San Antonio de Bejar, and all those of the presidio at San Xavier which was to be transferred, making a total of one hundred men. Although he had been told that the site was not suitable, he nevertheless set out for it in April, 1757, examined the ground, and erected a presidio and a mission, about a league and a half apart.² The former was named in honor of the viceroy, San Luis de las Amarillas; the latter was called San Saba.

Plans had been made for two missions, one to be in charge of the College at Querétaro and the other in charge of the College of San Fernando. The San Saba Mission was placed in charge of the former, but the second mission was never built.³

¹ W. E. Dunn, *Missionary Activities Among the Eastern Apaches Previous to the Founding of the San Saba Mission*, *Quarterly*, XV, 188-200.

² West, *Bonnilla's Brief Compendium*, *Quarterly*, VIII, 188-200.

³ W. E. Dunn, *The Apache Mission on the San Saba River; Its Founding and Failure*, *Quarterly*, XVII, 397.

THE SECULARIZATION OF THE MISSIONS

The priest placed in charge of the mission, Padre Alonso Giraldo de Terreros, was extremely zealous, but he soon was obliged to admit, in his letters to his superiors, that he was grievously disappointed at the response which the Apaches made to his advances and to those of his two assistants, Padres Joseph Santiestevan and Miguel de Molina.⁴

The final abandonment of the work was brought about, however, not by the indifference of the Apaches, but by the active hostility of their hereditary enemies, the Comanches. The latter, fearing annihilation at the hands of what they felt was now a double enemy, resolved to take the initiative. On March 2, 1758, they drove sixty-two horses from the mission pasture ground. Fifteen soldiers were sent in pursuit; they returned, not only without having fulfilled their mission, but with the alarming report that the Indians were very numerous, as was clear from their tracks and other signs. Feeling that they intended violence, Colonel Parrilla tried to persuade the missionaries to move to the presidio. But Padre Terreros refused to desert his post, convinced as he was that the defenses of the missions were adequate for any emergency; a palisade, pierced by only one gate, surrounded all the buildings, and two swivel guns were mounted at strategic points.

Two weeks after the first untoward incident, on the morning of March 16, after Padre Terreros had celebrated Holy Mass, his attention was attracted by loud shouts and the discharge of firearms. Looking out, he saw his mission surrounded by Comanches. Rather to his surprise, they advanced with friendly gestures, indicating that their intentions were peaceful, and uttered a few syllables of broken Spanish in

⁴MS., *Informe de Misiones*, 1762.

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order to bring out their motives more clearly. The corporal of the guard, convinced by these demonstrations, and believing that he recognized some friendly Indians in the group, told Padre Terreros that no danger was to be feared. The latter was far from convinced, but, trying to make the most of a bad situation, exhibited no signs of alarm as the Comanches removed the bars from the gate and crowded into the mission plaza. Their hands extended in token of friendship, they came toward the missionaries, who met them in like spirit and offered them tobacco and other gifts.

What they wanted, it seemed, was to gain admittance to the presidio. Complying with their request, Padre Terreros furnished them with a letter to the colonel. Messengers were sent off with this missive, but returned in a short time with the news that, despite the missionary's intervention, their wish was not to be granted. They now began to urge on the priest that he should intercede for them personally. Despite his misgivings, Padre Terreros yielded. He mounted his horse and began to ride from the enclosure. He had not gone far when a shot rang out and he fell from his horse to the ground.

This seemed to serve as the signal for a general attack. Seventeen soldiers and Padre Santiestevan were killed. Everything was ransacked, and the buildings and palisades were set on fire. Padre Molina had taken shelter in the log-house which had served as residence for Padre Terreros, and he had been successfully defended there by one of the soldiers; now the fire drove him from this shelter. Together with others he took refuge in the church, which though also burning, was more endurable because of its larger size. There the refugees remained

THE SECULARIZATION OF THE MISSIONS

till after midnight when they crawled out into the woods. It took Padre Molina, who was seriously wounded, two days to reach the presidio. On hearing his story Colonel Parrilla led a body of soldiers to the scene of the massacre, but the Comanches had already departed. The mission was reduced to ashes and the bodies of Padres Terreros and Santiestevan were found in the debris. They were buried in the cemetery of the mission.

Colonel Parrilla made a report of the horrible occurrence and recommended the removal of the presidio, an increase of the force to one hundred and forty men, and an expedition to chastise the savages. Only the last suggestion was approved by the authorities in Mexico. A conference of officers at the presidio of San Antonio de Bejar held in January, 1759, made plans for the campaign; and in August of the same year an expedition of five hundred men, with a large force of Apache auxiliaries, invaded the Comanche country. In a preliminary engagement they killed fifty-five natives; but advancing as far as the villages of the Taovayases, to a region later to be named San Teodoro, they came upon a body of six thousand Indians, members of various tribes.⁵ The latter did not wait to be attacked, but took the offensive themselves; the Spaniards, hopelessly outnumbered, fled in a panic. Shortly after this Colonel Parrilla returned to Mexico, and was succeeded in the command of San Luis de las Amarillas in October of 1760 by Captain Felipe de Rábago y Terán, of old the bitter foe of the missionaries, but now their friend.⁶

⁵ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Part II, 706.

⁶ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 644-649.

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MISSION RUINS EXTENSIVE

A theory which would contradict in some respects the record just given of the founding of this establishment has been advanced by John W. Hunter, who seeks to account for the very extensive ruins which were later found on the site.⁷ This investigator is inclined to believe that the mission was founded many years before 1756, the date given by Bonilla⁸ and Morfi;⁹ the presumption is that it was very successful and developed at a rapid rate, but that in 1756, it was decided that in order to facilitate the control and conversion of the Apaches, a colony should be established composed of converted Indians from other missions, and that the mission itself should be transformed into a presidio, which was called San Luis de la Amarillas. The exact truth will be known only when the many documents now kept hidden in the Mexican archives are made accessible to scholars.

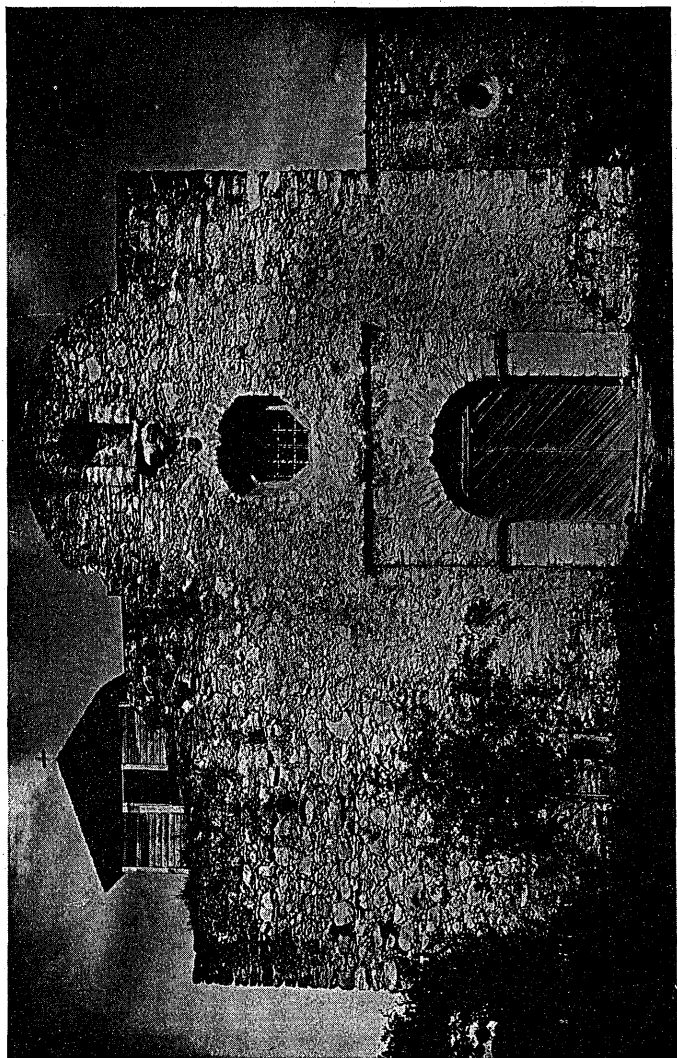
The reason for the hypothesis proposed, as has been stated, is to be found in the nature and extent of the ruins of this mission. Mr. Hunter relates that in 1858, when the town of Menardville was founded some three and a half miles from the mission, the ruins furnished an almost inexhaustible supply of stone and other building materials. This statement is confirmed by the account given by a German traveler, Dr. Ferdinand von Roemer, who visited the place in 1847. Here is his description:

"The ruins consist of remnants of masonry five to six, or in some places as much as fifteen or twenty, feet high, and plainly reveal the design of the whole

⁷ John W. Hunter, *Rise and Fall of Mission San Saba*, 30-31.

⁸ West, *op. cit.*, *Quarterly*, VIII, 2.

⁹ Juan de Morfi, MS., *Memorias para la Historia de Texas*.



MISSION ESPIRITU SANTO DE ZUNIGA, NEAR GOLIAD

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

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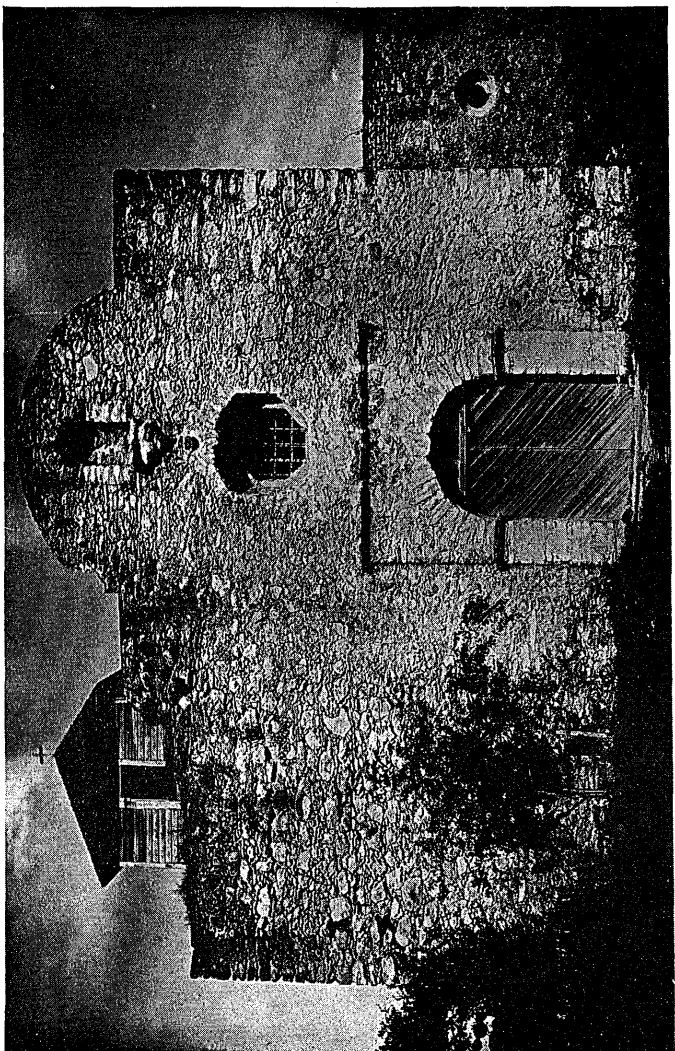
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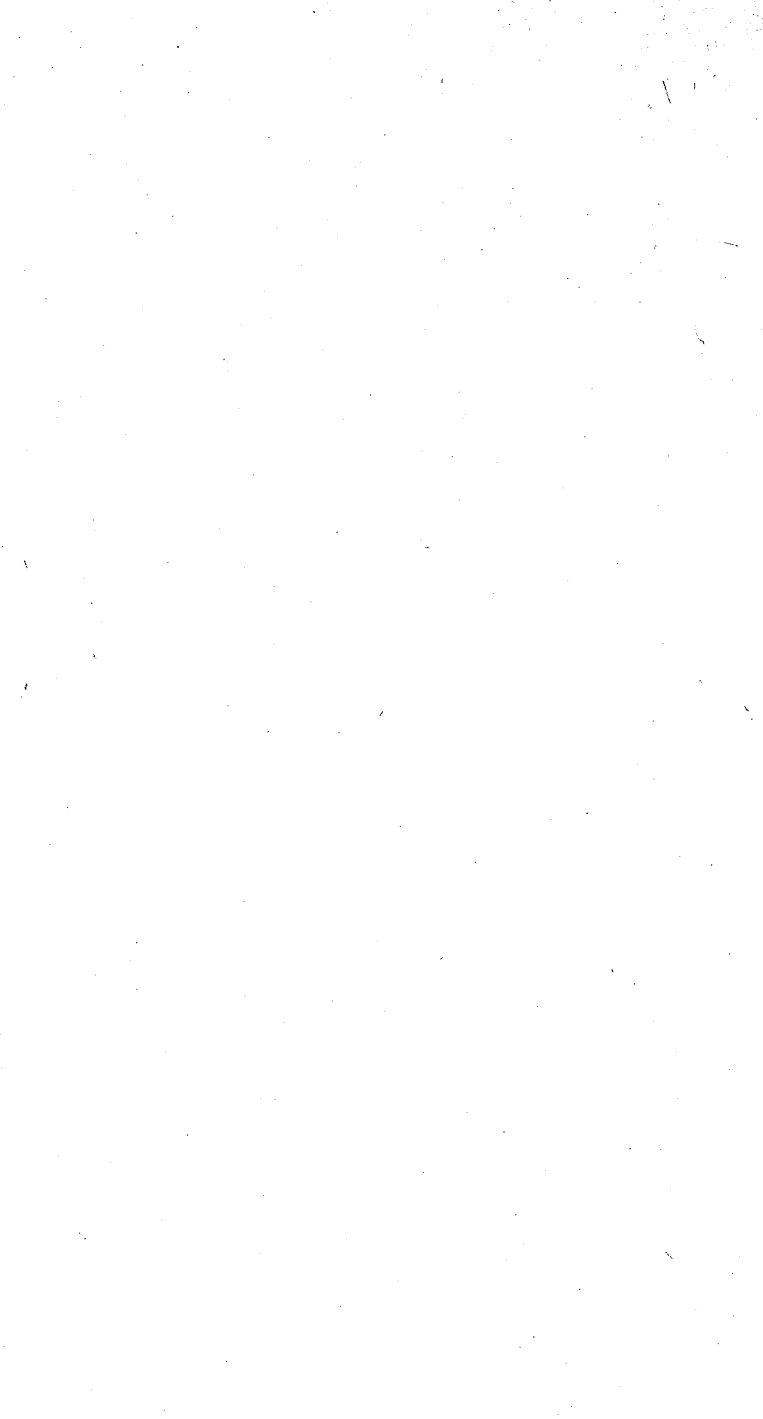
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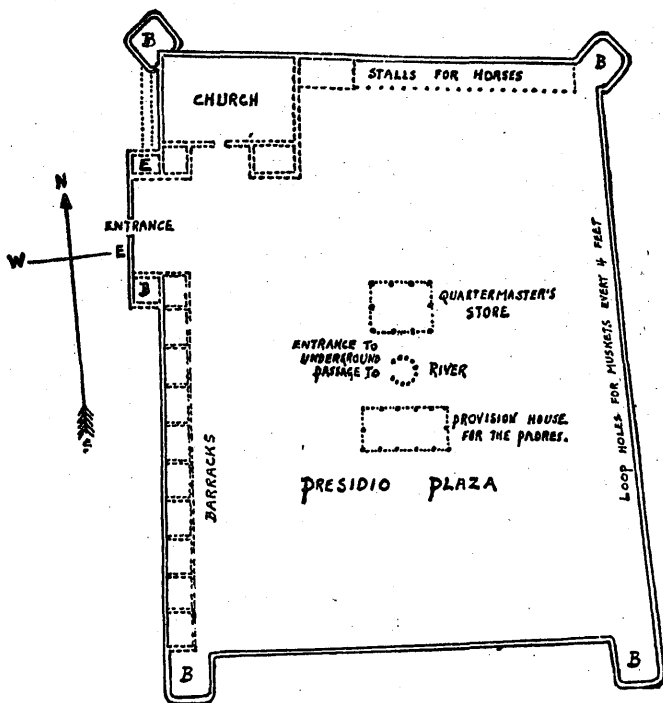
⁸ West, *op. cit.*, *Quarterly*, VIII, 2.

⁹ Juan de Morfi, MS., *Memorias para la Historia de Texas*.





THE SECULARIZATION OF THE MISSIONS



PRESIDIO SAN LUIS DE LAS AMARILLAS (COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS MISSION SAN SABA) NEAR MENARDVILLE

Completely in ruins. References: B = bastion; E = entrance to underground passage to magazine under bastion. The San Saba River is less than one hundred feet south.

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structure. The outside walls form a rectangle, almost a square; the shorter side lying along the river and measuring three hundred feet, the other side being three hundred and sixty feet long. On the inner side of this wall are built cells or rooms, eighteen feet deep and opening into the courtyard. There are about fifty of them in all. In the northwest corner of the enclosure lies the main building with its courtyard and rooms; here the walls are still intact as high as the upper crossbeams. The main entrance to the fort lay on the west side, but there was also a smaller one leading to the river. On three of the corners square towers projected from the walls and strengthened the defenses, while on the northwest corner was a round tower larger than the others."¹⁰

Hardly had the news of the massacre at San Saba become known than it was decided to remove the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe to another location, for it was evident that without a sufficient garrison no mission could be maintained in a region where hostile savages swarmed.¹¹ No record, however, of such a transfer has come down to us and it is more likely that this little mission was simply abandoned.

MISSION ESTABLISHMENTS AT EL CANON

Another proposal along the same lines was made a few years later. In 1760 Padre Josef Calaborra y Saenz ventured alone to the region of San Teodoro, the scene of the Spanish defeat, and visited the Tuacanes, Taovayases, Maquies and Quitseis, for the purpose of establishing peaceful relations. He remained

¹⁰ Ferdinand von Roemer, *Texas mit besonderer Rücksicht auf deutsche Auswanderung und die physischen Verhältnisse des Landes nach eigener Beobachtung* geschildert, 308.

¹¹ MS., *Informe de Misiones*, 1762.

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in their midst for eight days, and having been given assurances that they would be faithful to the Spaniards, he proposed on his return, that the presidio of San Luis de las Amarillas be transferred to this region. His enthusiasm, naturally, was not shared by the authorities in Mexico who had not yet forgotten the large sums that had already been vainly expended for these tribes, to say nothing of the trouble they had caused; moreover, their attention was then held by other plans which were under way for the evangelization of the Lipan branch of the Apaches.¹²

These latter plans were put into execution on January 26, 1762, when the Mission of San Lorenzo de Santa Cruz was founded at El Cañón, on the San José River, the Upper Nueces of the present day.¹³ Two weeks later, on February 8, four leagues distant on the same river was founded a second mission, known as Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria. These two missions had a very rapid but also a very short-lived prosperity. Although a year after their foundation they numbered about four hundred Indians between them, the majority at San Lorenzo, within a few more years both of them were abandoned. Candelaria was the first to go, being deserted by the Indians for reasons which were not specified. San Lorenzo was likewise given up, after it had been attacked three times by the Comanches in 1766 and 1767, although the site of El Cañón had been chosen expressly because it seemed to offer a safe haven.¹⁴ Ruins of these two missions are still to be seen, those of San Lorenzo in Edwards County, and those of Candelaria in Uvalde County.¹⁵

¹² West, *op. cit.*, *Quarterly*, VIII, 57-58.

¹³ John G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, I, 508.

¹⁴ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Part II, 91, 446.

¹⁵ W. F. McCaleb, *Some Obscure Points in the Mission Period of Texas History*, *Quarterly*, I, 222.

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About this same time, during the years 1761-1763, plans were also considered for establishing missions among the Tawakoni and Yscani tribes but they were never carried into effect.¹⁶ The cession of Louisiana to Spain, on November 3, 1762, may have been mainly responsible for this; at any rate it seems significant that after this date the Spaniards established no new missions, with the solitary exception of Refugio.

CONDITION OF EASTERN FRONTIER MISSIONS

The year 1768 is a year for which there is considerable information on all the missions, for the reason that it marks the visitation made by Padre Gaspar José de Solís of the College of Zacatecas throughout the Province of Texas and that this good Padre took careful note of all that he saw.¹⁷ His data have already been utilized in connection with those missions of which entire histories have been summarized in preceding chapters; it remains to be seen in what condition he found the three missions of the eastern frontier.

That of Señor San Miguel de Cuellar de los Adaes, to give it its full title as he does, was beautifully rather than hygienically situated. It was on the side of a hill that dominated a plain covered with a dense forest of pines, oaks, and other trees, but its only supply of water was a small arroyo through which trickled a thin and unsanitary stream. The church was built of logs and had a shingle roof; though strongly constructed it had grown shabby with age. The ecclesiastical ornaments and sacred vessels were also considerably the worse for wear.

¹⁶ Bolton, *Founding of Mission Rosario, Quarterly*, X, 119.

¹⁷ José de Solís, *Diario*, 1768.

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The forty log houses which served as habitations for the Indians likewise bore signs of decrepitude.

The spiritual condition of the mission was scarcely better than the material. The proximity of the French fort and settlement of Natchitoches brought sad results in its train; well supplied with liquors and wines, the Indians easily fell prey to bad habits, and were disinclined to bear the restraints of life in the mission. Still, at the hour of death, they would send for the missionary and ask for baptism. The records on May 7, 1768, showed a total of 103 baptisms for the mission, 256 baptisms, 64 marriages and 116 burials for the presidio, and 20 baptisms, 13 marriages and 15 burials for Natchitoches. This last set of entries can be explained by the fact that Padre Margil, shortly after founding the mission, hearing that there was no priest at the French post, took it upon himself to visit it periodically, and kept record of his ministrations in his own register.¹⁸

The second mission of this group, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Benavente de los Ays, was likewise placed in a romantic setting, entirely surrounded as it was by a dense forest. Its buildings were in a better state of preservation than those of the other, but its spiritual condition was far inferior. Only eleven baptisms, seven burials, and three marriages are recorded in its registers. This fact is easy to explain: the Ais Indians were the most corrupt in the Province of Texas. They made fun of the missionary and told him they would rather deal with the devil than with him. Hence it is rather surprising that any success at all greeted his efforts.

¹⁸ Villaplana, *Portentosa Vida del Americano Septentrional Apostol. el V. P. Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús*, 155.

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And we are forced in a way to admire his perseverance, even in the face of the proposal made by Padre Camberos that this mission be transferred to the vicinity of Espíritu Santo in favor of the Cujanes.

The third mission in this sector was called Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Albuquerque de los Nacogdoches. Founded for less savage Indians, and advantageously situated so as to be accessible to four important tribes, it had nevertheless no greater spiritual conquests to boast of. Twelve baptisms, eight burials, and five marriages are all that grace its books. Materially it was in excellent condition. Its ornaments and jewels showed less wear than those of the other two missions, and the dwellings of the missionaries were better constructed. The granary, soldiers' quarters and other buildings were also made of good material and roomy enough for all needs. Like its two neighbors, it was well enough provided with livestock, but in this respect the missions of the eastern frontier could not compare with those of the San Antonio district.

PRESIDIOS IN DEPLORABLE STATE OF AFFAIRS

At about the same time that Padre de Solís was making his ecclesiastical visitation, a similar official had been appointed by the civil powers. Reports of unsatisfactory conditions in the Province of Texas, and numerous appeals for aid finally moved the king to give the Marqués de Rubi a commission as lieutenant-general with the function of making a *revista* of the presidios of the northern part of Nueva España. His departure from Mexico City in March 1766, and his tour of the northern provinces of what is now Mexico are of no interest here. It was in August of 1767, shortly after Lieutenant-Colonel

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Hugo Oconor had taken possession *ad interim* of the government, that he came to the Province of Texas. The deplorable condition in which he found affairs immediately caused him to make a whole series of recommendations.

Two presidios were to be abandoned: that of del Pilar de los Adaes as being no longer necessary on the eastern frontier, since danger was no longer to be apprehended in that quarter, neither from the Indians, who had always been peaceful, nor from the French, now that Louisiana belonged to the crown of Spain; and that of Orcoquisac, which as a matter of fact had burnt to the ground some time before. The garrisons were to be transferred partly to San Antonio de Bejar, and partly to Santa Cruz del Cibolo, a stockade fort built in 1771 halfway between Bejar and La Bahía to protect the ranchos against the Indians.¹⁹ Los Ays and Nacogdoches missions could also be abandoned since they involved a useless expenditure, and the territory extending from Espíritu Santo to los Adaes could be left untouched. The Lipan-Apaches could not be considered as allies, but war should be waged against them and they should be reduced to complete submission.²⁰

It was several years before slow-moving officialdom acted on these recommendations. Before recounting what was actually done, it might be well to record what was going on elsewhere in the meantime, and particularly in the vicinity of San Antonio de Bejar.

Things were in a rather bad way there in 1770. Governor Oconor, who resigned in this year after

¹⁹ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 656.

²⁰ West, *op. cit.*, *Quarterly*, VIII, 59-62.

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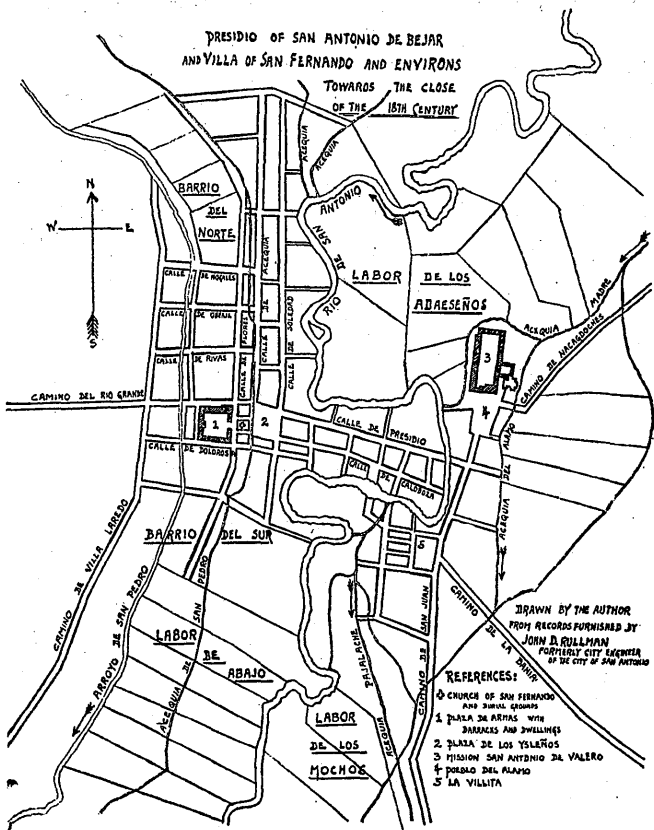
three years of incumbency, had evidently had very little success in his campaigns against the Indians. For when his successor, the Baron de Ripperdá, arrived, he was greeted with a memorial by the cabildo, judiciary, and settlers of the Villa de San Fernando, in which he was informed that the combined populations of the villa of San Fernando and of the presidio of San Antonio was only 860 souls; many inhabitants had been killed in Indian attacks and still more had left in terror.²¹

A description of this settlement three years earlier from the pen of Monsieur de Pagés, a captain in the French navy, is illuminating.²² He finds considerable evidence of neglect. The houses lining the palisades which guarded the avenues of approach to the settlement were crumbling into ruin. Miserable villages were to be seen outside the walls. Wretched huts were crowded together at the bend of the river. The means of defense were inadequate and the garrison too small. The inhabitants were excellent horsemen and their principal occupation seemed to be the raising of livestock; consequently, the latter had very little value here. Very little money was used, and commerce was mostly in the form of bartering. A good horse, for example, would be exchanged for a pair of shoes. How de Pagés got into contact with the Indians is not clear, but he has something to say about them also. He notes that the Comanches, who had been described to him as cannibals, were merely cruel and rather dastardly savages. The Apaches and the maritime tribes still used the bow and arrow, and were consequently easy victims of the Spaniards

²¹ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 652-653.

²² Monsieur de Pagés, *Travels Round the World in Years 1767-1771*, II, 90-101.

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OLD SAN ANTONIO DE BEJAR

Showing (1) Plaza de las Armas; (2) Plaza de los Ysleños; (3) Mission San Antonio de Valero; (4) Pueblo del Alamo and (5) La Villita.

Scale: 1,600 ft. to the inch

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who would pursue them, capture them, and turn them over, "bound hand and foot," to the missionaries.

An equally unfavorable picture was painted ten years later by Padre Juan de Morfi.²³ Fifty-nine stone-and-mud houses, and seventy-nine of wood constituted the settlement at this time, he reported. The houses were mostly one-room affairs, and poorly built at that. The streets were so neglected that during times of rain, mud was so deep that they were useless thoroughfares unless traversed on horseback. The barracks were not fit for stables, and the prison formed part of the governor's palace. The church of San Fernando was dilapidated and poorly provided with ecclesiastical ornaments. The principal blame for the state of affairs was placed by Padre de Morfi on the members of the cabildo, who, far from working for improvement by precept and example, gave rather the example of shiftlessness and neglect.

NEW REGULATIONS OF PRESIDIOS

The new regulations based upon General Rubi's recommendations were issued on September 10, 1772, and became popularly known as the "New Regulations of Presidios." They covered the entire country from California to the Gulf of Mexico, but only the parts referring to Texas need be told here. San Antonio was to have its eighty men and Bahía del Espíritu Santo fifty-one. San Saba, according to the order, was to be transferred to the Rio Grande, and Orcoquisac, already abandoned, was not to be reopened. The presidio Adaes and the Ays Mission were to be discontinued and their families brought to San Antonio.

²³ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 653-654.

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Governor Ripperdá set out in May of 1773 for the Adaes country, to supervise personally the work of migration. Having arrived there, he gave a peremptory order that all were to be ready to depart for San Antonio within five days. He himself set out for San Antonio at once. A few balked at the order and fled to the woods rather than obey it, but the majority complied. The march itself under the leadership of Gil Ybarbo, one of the exiles, was replete with hardships, brought on largely by the insufficient time which had been allowed to get things ready. Nine people remained behind at Nacogdoches, and others dropped off at other places along the route. Food was scarce, and the poor people were obliged to part with their most valued possessions in order to obtain it.

The party arrived in San Antonio on September 26. Governor Ripperdá told the transplanted colonists to choose within the villa of San Fernando whatever land they wanted for their homes, fields, and pastures, without encroaching on the rights either of the settlers already established or of the Indians in the missions. This was no choice at all in the minds of the many to whom it was offered, and they begged the governor to allow them to return to the eastern frontier and found a new settlement near the one they had been forced to abandon.

Of course this request had to be referred to the authorities in Mexico and it was some time before an answer was brought back. When it did come it was favorable. So on September 1, 1774 a new settlement called Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Bucareli, was founded on the right bank of the Trinidad River at a point known as Paso Tomás, probably where the old San Antonio and La Bahía road crossed the stream. The settlers organized a militia for

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their own protection and elected Antonio Gil Ybarbo captain of the company as well as *justicia mayor* of the new pueblo. A chapel was built in September 1776 and Fray Josef Francisco Mariano de la Garza was sent from San Antonio de Valero as pastor. Governor Ripperdá had also hoped to establish a mission there for the Indians, but, although many Vidais and a few other Indians were baptized and some Xaranames were restored to Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga, nothing further was ever done. In 1778 the place was twice raided by the Comanches and the settlers appealed to the provincial authorities for help and protection; before this arrived, however, they were forced to abandon their chosen site, early in 1779, because of Indian raids. They retired, without orders, to a place not far distant from the old Nacogdoches, and became the founders of the modern city of Nacogdoches. In this new location the community prospered. Not only was the settlement legalized by the authorities but Ybarbo was given a salary of five hundred pesos a year, and the title of lieutenant-governor of the pueblo of Nacogdoches was conferred on him.²⁴

WITHDRAWAL OF THE QUERETARANS FROM TEXAS

Abandonment and suppression had reduced the number of missions in Texas to seven by 1773: five in the San Antonio district, and two near the coast. Of these, three, Aguayo and the two coastal ones, belonged to the Zacatecan Fathers. Now the Querétarans declared their intention of giving up the four missions that remained to them in Texas in order that they might devote all their energies to their work

²⁴ H. E. Bolton, *The Spanish Abandonment and Reoccupation of East Texas, Quarterly*, Texas State Historical Association, IX, 79, 136.

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in Sonora.²⁵ It is probable, however, that their decision was influenced by an edict issued by the viceroy on August 12, 1771, in which the lands under the jurisdiction of the College of Querétaro were officially declared to be uncultivated; the document went on to say that these lands, too extensive, practically resulted in a monopoly on the waters of the San Antonio, and deprived the inhabitants of the Villa of San Fernando of the opportunity of owning any property along that river; that, consequently, these lands should revert to the king.²⁶

Another blow at the missions was struck a few years later, in a decree published January 12, 1778. Two high officials of the Spanish colonial administration, Chevalier Teodoro de Croix, the commandant general of the newly-organized *Provincias Internas* of which Texas was one, and the new governor of the province, Don Domingo Cabello, came together and issued instructions respecting the slaughter, capture, and exportation of wild cattle. An important ruling declared all unbranded cattle to be the property of the king, and another imposed a payment of four reals a head for their slaughter. Since the wealth of the missions consisted in cattle, which it was impossible to herd together and brand, this double-toothed law practically obliged them to pay four reals apiece for the right to slaughter their own cattle raised on their own lands.²⁷

At the end of 1783 a complete and very detailed census was taken of Spanish and Spanish-dominat-

²⁵ *Libro de Casamientos de Esta Misión de la Purísima Concepción, Pueblo de Acuña.*

²⁶ Manuscript referring to the partitioning of the lands of the missions of San Antonio de Valero, La Purísima Concepción, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de la Espada, dated Mexico, August 12, 1771. In City Clerk's office, San Antonio.

²⁷ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 662, 667.

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ed population in the province of Texas. This, of course, does not include all the territory now included within the boundaries of the state, since the Medina River served as dividing line from the province of Coahuila, and an imaginary line running in a northwesterly direction from the source of the Medina marked the limits on the New Mexico side. Hence Laredo and other Rio Grande settlements are not included in these figures. Moreover, no mention is made of the Rosario mission, since it was not functioning at this time.

Of the 2819 persons listed in the tabulation, more than one-half were Spaniards, while of the others a slight majority were pure-blood Indians and the rest mixed breeds: only thirty-six negro slaves were to be found.²⁸

An official report by Conde Revilla-Gigedo ten years later gave four hundred and sixty-seven as the total number of inhabitants in the eight existing Texas missions.²⁹

Another elaborate report a little later, in 1795, treats the ecclesiastical aspect of the province. It was made by Padre José Francisco López, president of the Texas missions, to the Bishop of Nuevo León.³⁰ He explains first of all the way in which the missions were administered: a *padre presidente* was in general charge, and from time to time a visitor would be sent from the college of Zacatecas on a tour of inspection; one of his duties was to make transcripts of the books of each house, in which were kept the

²⁸ *Estado que manifiesta el numero de Vassallos, y Habitantes que tiene el Rey en esta Jurisdicción de Provincia de los Texas, Preso. de San Antonio de Bexar, y Dize 31 de 1783.* MS., Bexar Archives. See Appendix C.

²⁹ *Informe Oficial del Conde Revilla-Gigedo, Virrey de Mejico al Rey de España, 1793.* See Appendix D.

³⁰ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 664- 667.

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records of receipts and expenses. The next thing contained in the report of Padre López is an analysis of the causes leading to the decline of the missions: he finds the new laws anent the branding and slaughtering of cattle largely responsible, inasmuch as they took away the missionaries' principal source of wealth; and since the natives, disinclined to labor, were attracted to the missions largely by the material advantages they found there, it is not surprising that they left when means of subsistence could be more easily found elsewhere.

THE LAST MISSION TO BE FOUNDED

At a time when many missions had ceased entirely to exist, and the remaining few were on the brink of dissolution, it is surprising to see a new one being established.

The occasion seems to have been inter-college rivalry. In 1790 news reached the College of Guadalupe at Zacatecas that the College of Pachuca had asked permission to enter Texas and undertake missionary work. This led the College of Guadalupe to renew its efforts in launching a program for work among the northern tribes, including the Comanches, who had never been under mission influence.

Padre Manuel Julio de Silva was chosen to undertake the founding of the new establishment, and together with Padre José Mariano Garza, he left Zacatecas on January 1, 1791, but this great scheme was interfered with upon his arrival at La Bahía, by the ever-present difficulties of the Indian situation. For it was at this time, that a campaign against the Lipans was being undertaken and the authorities would permit no expedition to these tribes.

Padres Silva and Garza thereupon turned their

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attention to a lesser problem and made efforts to secure neophytes for the nearby abandoned Mission Rosario. This unexpectedly opened the way for founding a new mission for the Karankawan tribes. Padre Silva was however recalled to Zacatecas, and being unable to return, he placed the work with the Karankawa into the hands of Padre Garza. But it was not until February 4, Refugio's day, 1793, that the new mission was founded near the junction of the San Antonio and Guadalupe Rivers.

It is a matter of interest to note that the Countess of Valenciana had promised to bear all the expenses for the mission, but for some reason she changed her mind, and the mission was named Nuestra Señora del Refugio.³¹

Some difficulties soon arose regarding the site selected for the new mission, and in consequence it was moved in 1795 to Copano Bay, where the mission was intended as much to watch over the illicit shipping activities of which this had become the center as to contribute to the conversion of the Indians.³²

CLOSING OF THE MISSIONS

The founding of Mission Refugio was almost an epilogue in the history of the Texas missions, since it took place at a time when all the others were ceasing to exist. And since this work is essentially a history of the missions, it is natural that it should close with an account of their official ending, the secularization.

The first of them to travel this route to oblivion was San Antonio de Valero. Already in 1785 it

³¹ Bolton, *Beginnings of the Mission of Nuestra Señora del Refugio*, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XIX, 400-404.

³² H. Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I, 109.

Año de 1772

San Juan
Murió con fe
de fallecido
el 18 de mayo
de 1772

En virtud y sus días del Mo de Agosto de
Mil setecientos y setenta y dos en esta Mision de la Pu
rissima Concepcion en la Piedad de San Juan
Nuevo, con Testes de fe, ante el Sacro mero
de Peru, no hubo impedimento alguno y celebró
se Matrimonio segun manda el concilio de Trento
disponiendo la ultima voluntad, fue el Pastoral D.
Raphael Martin Pacheco Capitan del Real Pad
ro de S. Agustin de Chihuahua y de Madama Ana
Joseph Flores de Valdes ambos Capitanes y señores
D. Joseph Sanchez Alvarado Capitan y alcaide de
la Mision de la Concepcion, llamados Juan Mateo
y otros, Thomas Torrealba, Diego Manuel y para
que conste se firmo en dicho dia de Agosto de

Año de 1773

San Juan

Comienzan los Ministerios de N. S. de Gu
dalupe de Zacatecas

217
Vuelto
allegado
de la
Zacatecas
Mision
San Juan
de 1773

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Nuevo, con Testes de fe, ante el Sacro mero
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RECORD OF MARRIAGES OF MISSION DE LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION
SHOWING THE TRANSFER OF THE MISSIONS FROM
THE QUERÉTARANS TO THE ZACATECAN

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attention to a lesser problem and made efforts to secure neophytes for the nearby abandoned Mission Rosario. This unexpectedly opened the way for founding a new mission for the Karankawan tribes. Padre Silva was however recalled to Zacatecas, and being unable to return, he placed the work with the Karankawa into the hands of Padre Garza. But it was not until February 4, Refugio's day, 1793, that the new mission was founded near the junction of the San Antonio and Guadalupe Rivers.

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³¹ Bolton, *Beginnings of the Mission of Nuestra Señora del Refugio*, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XIX, 400-404.

³² H. Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I, 109.

THE SECULARIZATION OF THE MISSIONS

was decided that, since the Indian tribes of the region were gradually becoming exterminated, it was not necessary for all the missions to continue active. The tribes which had hitherto resorted to San Antonio for instruction were now referred to Concepción and San José; however those already converted were still taken care of in the chapel of the mission which was changed into a parish church and served by the same Padre as before.

All administrative concerns and proprietary rights having been taken out of the hands of the Friars, this mission was occupied by a military organization known as the *Segunda Compañía Volante de San Carlos de Parras* and the families of the soldiers formed a settlement around it. Thus the mission of San Antonio de Valero became an ordinary Spanish pueblo named Señor San Josef y Santiago del Alamo, or, more briefly, Pueblo del Alamo.³³ It is evident, therefore, that at first no effort was made to give the Indians proprietary rights to the lands or houses which they had been using. This wrong was righted only some years later, by an act dated February 25, 1793, when eleven grants were made to the *hijos* of the missions, as they were called.³⁴ At the same time forty-five grants of land which had been part of the Valero domain were given to families that had been transported from the Adaes presidio and had not availed themselves of the permission to return to their original neighborhood.³⁵

³³ *Libro en que Asientan. Los Bautismos que se hacen en la segunda Compañía Volante de Sn. Carlos de Parras cita. en el Pueblo del Alamo.*

³⁴ See instrument issued for the partition of lands of San Antonio de Valero, February 25, 1793, recorded in Vol. 3, pp. 302-315, of Spanish Deed Records, Bexar County.

³⁵ A copy of the order of the Viceroy, dated Mexico, November 20, 1792, authorizing the partitioning of the lands of the Mission of San Antonio de Valero, is on file in the City Engineer's office at San Antonio, Texas.

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The final act in the secularization of this mission was accomplished on August 22 of this same year when Padre José Francisco López, handed over the records of the mission to the pastor of San Fernando.³⁶

The other missions suffered the same fate a very short time later. On April 10, 1794 the commandant general of the *Provincias Internas*, Don Pedro de Nava, issued an order to the effect that all missions which had been in existence for at least ten years were to be secularized.

The bulk of this decree dealt with the means which were to be used to provide for the future of the Indians, now suddenly deprived of guidance and support. The property of the mission, except as much as might be necessary for community purposes or future expansion, was to be equitably divided among the natives, who were to support themselves by agriculture, stock farming, and poultry raising. It was hoped that the heathen Indians, seeing their brothers happy under these circumstances, would likewise be induced to adopt the Christian religion and become subjects of His Catholic Majesty. Moral training was also to be given, and the magistrates were to provide moral safeguards by preventing professional gamblers and liquor dealers from entering the pueblos. As to civic rights, the Indians were to be on a par with the Spaniards: fair prices were to be paid them for their produce; if they worked, they were to receive the ordinary wages, and that in money, unless they preferred merchandise, and then they were to receive what they wanted, of good quality; with the exception of their chiefs and other lead-

³⁶ *Libro en que asientan los Bautismos de los Indios de esta Misión de San Antonio de Valero.*

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ing men, however, they were still required to work at cultivating the corn lands of the communities, a maximum of 600 feet square being set for an individual worker; if for some reason or other more work was demanded of any Indian, he was to be paid a proportionate wage out of the community fund; no Indian was allowed to mortgage his property or otherwise endanger his own permanent possession of it.

As far as the missionaries and other clergy were concerned, they were to be relieved of the care and management of all mission property and they were asked to make a formal delivery of it accompanied by an inventory, as soon as they had been officially notified by the legitimate authorities.³⁷

On June 25, 1794, Don Manuel Muñoz, political and military governor of the Province of Texas, drew up an act which was duly signed and witnessed, whereby he promised to carry out the orders of the commandant general, and specifically: to inform the president of the missions in the San Antonio region, Padre José Mariano Cardenas, of what was to be done, so that he could in turn inform the Padres at the four missions concerned and have them make all necessary preparations for the transfer of the property; to appoint Don Pedro Huisar as official surveyor in charge of the distribution of the lands; and to begin the process of secularization with the Espada mission. As a matter of fact, the inventories of the four missions are all dated in the following month, July: Espada on the eleventh, Capistrano on the

³⁷ A copy of the recommendation embodied in the order of Don Pedro de Nava, *commandante-general de estas Provincias Internas de Nueva España*, who signed the same as "Governor of Texas," together with the delivery of the order to Don Manuel Muñoz, lieutenant-colonel of cavalry, political and military governor of the Provincia de los Texas, is on file in the County Clerk's office of Bexar County.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

fourteenth, Aguayo on the thirtieth, and Concepción on the thirty-first.³⁸

A similar order was no doubt issued to the captain of the presidio of La Bahía, but we have no record of it, nor is it known precisely at what time the two missions under his jurisdiction were closed.

The Refugio Mission did not come within the scope of the decree. It survived close to twenty years yet; for although a decree of the Spanish Cortes ordering the secularization of all missions in Texas was promulgated in September 13, 1813, it was not until 1823 that the authorities in Mexico saw to its execution.³⁹

It was reserved to the government of the Republic of Texas to do an act of tardy justice and acknowledge the rights which the Friars had won by their sweat and sometimes even by their blood. On January 13, 1841, David G. Burnet, vice-president, signed an act which had been passed by both houses of the legislature, providing that the mission churches at San Antonio, Goliad and Victoria, the church lot at Nacogdoches, the churches at the Mission of Concepción, San José, San Juan, Espada, and the Mission of Refugio, and the lands immediately surrounding them, be declared the property "of the present chief pastor of the Roman Catholic Church, in the Republic of Texas, and his successors in office, in trust forever."

³⁸ The document here cited, together with the *Ynventario de los Bienes de Temporalidad de la Misiones San Juan Capistrano* and *La Purísima Concepción*, dated respectively July 14, 1794, and July 31, 1794, are on file in the County Clerk's office of Bexar County; while the *Ynventario de los Bienes de Temporalidad de la Misiones San Francisco de la Espada*, dated July 11, 1794, and *Señor San José*, dated July 30, 1794, are recorded in Vol. 50 of the Spanish Archives, General Land Office, at Austin, Texas.

³⁹ Yoakum, *op. cit.*, II, 238.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY of MISSION and PRESIDIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN TEXAS¹

MISSIONS

1. San Francisco de los Tejas
Near Crockett. Founded May 25, 1690; abandoned October 25, 1693.
2. Santísimo Nombre de María
Houston County. Founded in June, 1690; abandoned October 25, 1693.
3. San Francisco de los Neches
Cherokee County. Founded July 3, 1716, altho considered a reestablishment of San Francisco de los Tejas; abandoned in 1719. Reestablished August 3, 1721 and transferred in 1731 to the new establishment of San Francisco de la Espada near San Antonio.
4. Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción
Near Nacogdoches. Founded July 7, 1716; abandoned in 1719 and reestablished August 7, 1721. Transferred in 1731 to the new establishment of Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña at San Antonio.
5. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe
Nacogdoches. Founded July 9, 1716; abandoned in 1719. Reestablished August 15, 1721, it was made the Capital of the Zacatecan Missions in Texas and remained in successful operation until 1772, when it was ordered to be discontinued.

¹ The establishments at Ysleta and other places along the Rio Grande are not included in this summary as the Medina River was considered the southern boundary between the Province of Texas and Coaguila, while an imaginary line running in a northwesterly direction from the source of the Medina, was the western boundary between Texas and New Mexico.

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6. San José de los Nazones
Not far from Dolores. Founded July 10, 1716; abandoned in 1719. Reestablished August 13, 1721 and transferred in 1731 to the new establishment of San Juan Capistrano near San Antonio.
7. San Miguel de Linares
Near the French post of Natchitoches, now the present Robeline, La. Founded January 29, 1717; abandoned in 1719; reestablished October 12, 1721, as San Miguel de los Adaes; abandoned in 1773.
8. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores
Near the site of modern San Augustine. Founded in February, 1717; abandoned in 1719; reestablished August 21, 1721, as Nuestra Señora de los Ays; abandoned in 1773.
9. San Antonio de Valero
San Antonio. Founded May 1, 1718 by transfer of the Mission of San Francisco Solano from the Rio Grande.² This mission was in active operation until 1785. Thereafter it became an ordinary Spanish pueblo known as Señor San José y Santiago del Alamo, a name which was soon replaced by Pueblo del Alamo. Hence the present name of "Alamo."
10. San José de Aguayo
Below San Antonio. Founded in March, 1720, it continued in active operation for almost thirty years after it was secularized in 1794. It was the largest and most magnificent mission establishment made north of the Rio Grande.
11. San Francisco Xavier de Nájera
San Antonio. Founded March 10, 1722 for the Ranchería Grande Indians, but beyond selecting a site and nominally founding the mission, it was never built.
12. Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga
Site of old Ft St. Louis. Founded April 6, 1722; removed to Mission Valley near Victoria in 1726,

² Founded in January, 1700, on the Rio Grande; reestablished at La Cienega in 1703; removed to San Ildefonso within five years, where it remained till 1710; thence it was moved back to the Rio Grande, where it was called Señor San José.

APPENDIX A

where ruins of a dam and foundations of the mission are still visible. Removed again in 1749 to the San Antonio River near Goliad, where it is called "La Bahía Mission." It remained in active operation until 1794.

13. Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña San Antonio. Founded March 5, 1731 by transfer of the Mission of La Purísima Concepción from East Texas. It remained in active operation until it was secularized in 1794 and its ruins are the best preserved of any of the missions in Texas.

14. San Francisco de la Espada
Below San Antonio. Founded March 5, 1731 by transfer of the Mission of San Francisco de los Neches from East Texas. It likewise remained in active operation until it was secularized in 1794.

15. San Juan Capistrano
Below San Antonio. Founded March 5, 1731 by transfer of the Mission San José de los Nazones from East Texas. It, too, remained in active operation until it was secularized in 1794.

16. San Francisco Xavier de Horcasitas
Site selected and temporarily founded in 1746. It was not permanently founded, however, until in February, 1748.

17. San Ildefonso
Founded in 1749.

18. Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria
Founded in 1749.

These three establishments on the San Gabriel River, near the present City of Georgetown, were very successful at the start, but on account of continued Indian troubles they were abandoned within a few years.

19. Nuestra Señora del Rosario
Near Goliad. Founded in November, 1754, this mission was in very successful operation until about 1780 when it was temporarily abandoned on account of Indian troubles for a period of ten years. All that now remains are some old foundation walls.

20. Nuestra Señora de la Luz
On Trinity River. Founded in February, 1756, but

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

this date is uncertain. Abandoned in 1764 after the presidio of San Agustín de Ahumada was burnt down.

21. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe
Near site of present City of New Braunfels. Founded in 1757; abandoned in 1758 after the destruction of San Saba Mission.
22. San Saba
Near present City of Menardville. Founded in April, 1757; abandoned in March, 1758 after its destruction by the Comanche Indians.
23. San Lorenzo de Santa Cruz
Edwards County. Founded January 26, 1762.
24. Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria
Uvalde County. Founded February 8, 1762.
Both of these establishments at "El Cañon" have an interesting history; however, they were soon abandoned on account of Indian raids: Candelaria in 1766 and San Lorenzo shortly thereafter.
25. Nuestra Señora del Refugio
Refugio. Founded February 4, 1793, it was the last mission established in Texas.

ASISTENCIAS

(Subsidiary Chapels to the Mission Proper)

- A. Rancho de las Cabras de Atascosa, in Wilson County.
- B. Rancho de las Corralitos de Reyes
Others were established but their locations are unknown.

PRESIDIOS

1. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Tejas
Founded in July, 1716 for protection of the Querétaran Missions in East Texas. Abandoned in 1719; reestablished August 15, 1721; suppressed 1729.
2. San Antonio de Bejar
Founded May 5, 1718 as Villa de Bejar. Enlarged and rebuilt in 1722 in the shape of a square; this was the beginning of Plaza de las Armas, Military Plaza of today.

APPENDIX A

3. Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes

Founded October 12, 1721 for the protection of the Zacatecan Missions in East Texas. This military post was the capital of Texas until it was suppressed in 1772.

4. Nuestra Señora de Loreto

Founded April 6, 1722 for the protection of the Mission of Espíritu Santo. Removed with the Mission in 1726 and again in 1749. It was however better known as Presidio de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo. It maintained a strong garrison for some thirty-five years thereafter.

5. San Xavier

Founded in 1751 for the protection of the Missions on the San Gabriel River. Abandoned in 1756.

6. San Agustín de Ahumada

Founded in 1756 for the protection of the Mission of Nuestra Señora de la Luz and to prevent the French from trading and settling among the Arkokisa and Bidai Indians. Burnt down in 1764 and garrison removed to San Antonio de Bejar.

7. San Luis de las Amarillas

Founded in April, 1757 for the protection of San Saba Mission. Abandoned shortly after 1760.

8. Santa Cruz del Cibolo

A stockade Fort built in 1771, midway between the presidios of San Antonio and Espíritu Santo, to afford protection against the Indians, and to the Ranchos in the neighborhood.

APPENDIX B

GOVERNORS OF THE PROVINCE OF TEXAS FROM THE BEGINNING IN 1691 UNTIL THE CLOSE OF THE MISSION PERIOD ¹

1. Domingo Terán de los Ríos

Appointed January 23, 1691; led an expedition into Texas; explored the country, gave it a name and held the office until he returned to Mexico in March, 1692. ²

2. Martín de Alarcón

Appointed December 9, 1716, with title of Lieutenant-General of the Province of Texas and Nuevas Filipinas. During his tenure of office, he led another expedition into Texas in 1718; founded the Villa de Béjar, explored the San Antonio, Guadalupe and San Marcos rivers to ascertain whether they were navigable, and visited the missions in the Asinai country. He resigned the governorship in 1719 and in a cédula dated October 31 of that year, was thanked for his zeal and painstaking.

3. Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo

Appointed in 1719, with title of Governor and Captain-General of Nuevas Filipinas and Nueva Estremadura; in 1721, made still another expedition into Texas to reestablish the missions in East Texas and to found other establishments. In January, 1722 he returned to Béjar and began

¹ Since the new Provincia de los Texas, named by Terán, in 1691, "El Nuevo Reyno de Nueva Montaña de Santander y Santillana," originally embraced only the country occupied by the Texas (Tejas—pronounced *tay-hass*) Indians, and as there was no established northern boundary line of the Province of Coahuila in the earlier years, and as the new province was of little importance officially and too far away in the wilderness to be placed under a separate jurisdiction, it was included in the government of the Province of Coahuila, under the name of "Coaguila and Texas."

² Texas was unoccupied from 1693 until 1716, at which time Domingo Ramón led an expedition to re-occupy the country and establish missions among the Tejas Indians, as a guard against French encroachment.

APPENDIX B

the erection of a stronger presidio, and after exploring the Bay of Espíritu Santo and founding a mission and presidio on the very same site where the French Fort, St. Louis had stood, he returned during May to Monclova and resigned his commission.³

4. Fernando Pérez de Almazán, Captain-General
Appointed in 1722, he ruled the Province until 1726.
5. Melchor de Mediavilla y Ascona
Appointed in 1726. During his administration General Pedro de Rivera was sent as visitador to make a general inspection of the province. He made many recommendations which the missionaries protested, and because Mediavilla favored their views, he was removed from office in 1730.
6. Juan Bustillo y Zevallos
Captain of the presidio at Espíritu Santo, was appointed in January, 1731 to replace Mediavilla and held office until he resigned in 1733.
7. Manuel de Sandoval, Captain of Infantry
Appointed in 1734, he soon incurred the displeasure of the Viceroy for having permitted the French to move the post of Natchitoches from its original site to a point on the western bank of the Red River, and was dismissed from office within two years.
8. Carlos Benites Franquis de Lugo, Colonel
Appointed in September, 1736, it was soon discovered that he had no regard for the welfare of the province and devoted his attention to enriching himself. For this purpose he took Indians from the missions and employed them as laborers for his own benefit, as a result of which the Viceroy removed him from office in the following year.
9. Antonio Fernández de Jáuregui y Urrutia
Governor of Nuevo León, was appointed governor extraordinary and visitador of Texas, in 1737, pending the appointment of a new governor.

³ Aguayo was the last governor to rule both provinces. Thereafter, Coahuila and Texas each had a separate ruler.

EXPLORATIONS AND MISSIONS IN TEXAS

10. Prudencio de Orobio y Basterra
Appointed governor ad-interim in 1737, he held office for the next three years.
11. Tomás Felipe Winthuisen
Appointed in 1741, he administered the province until 1743.
12. Justo Boneo y Morales, Lieutenant-Colonel
Appointed in 1743, he soon died after his arrival at the presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes.
13. Francisco García Larios
Appointed governor ad-interim in 1744, he served for four years.
14. Pedro del Barrio Junco y Espriella
Appointed in 1748, he held office until 1751.
15. Jacinto de Barrios y Jáuregui, Lieutenant-Colonel
Appointed in 1751, he reached Los Adaes in July and had a very active administration. He was made governor of Coahuila in 1756, but was allowed to remain governor of Texas for three years longer to complete a colonization project he had undertaken.
16. Angel de Martos y Navarrete, Lieutenant of Navy
Appointed in 1756, but did not take office until 1759. His administration was full of disappointments and having been charged with burning the presidio of San Agustín de Ahumada in 1764, he was removed from office in 1767.
17. Hugo Oconór, Lieutenant-Colonel
Appointed governor ad-interim in 1767, it was during his administration that the Marqués de Rubi came to visit the presidios and Padre Gaspar José de Solís of the College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Zacatecas, visited the missions of Texas on a tour of inspection.
18. Barron de Ripperdá
Appointed in 1770. Notwithstanding his predecessor's efforts to suppress to a great extent the hostilities of the Indians, he found the province so overrun by savages, that the country was being abandoned by the settlers, necessitating his carrying out in 1772 and 1773 the recommendations

APPENDIX B

of general Rubi, in suppressing the presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes and closing the missions in East Texas.

19. Domingo Cabello

Appointed September 8, 1775, but he did not come to the presidio San Antonio de Bejar until January 1, 1778. Cabello was one of the best governors of Texas and remained in office until 1786, when he was promoted to another position in Cuba.

20. Bernardo Bonavia

Appointed July 8, 1786, but apparently did not serve.

21. Rafael Martínez Pacheco

Appointed February 27, 1787, he ruled until the following year when the office of governor was ordered suppressed and the province put under a presidial captain, his removal being approved October 18, 1790.

22. Manuel Muñoz

Appointed October 18, 1790, with the title of Political and Military Governor of the Province of Texas, it was during his administration that the missions of Texas were secularized in 1794. He remained in office until 1800.

APPENDIX C

POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE OF TEXAS

December 31, 1783

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Slaves	Total
Presidio de San Antonio and villa de San Fernando	331	311	321	264	21	1,248
Mission de Señor San José	41	36	26	25		128
Mission San Juan Capistrano	53	26	13	7		99
Mission San Francisco de la Espada	32	28	30	6		96
Mission Nuestra Señora de la Concepción	32	29	18	8		87
Mission San Antonio Valero	49	30	36	29		144
Presidio de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo	193	147	68	45	1	454
Mission del Espíritu Santo	75	66	33	40		214
Mission Rosario ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pueblo de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Na- cogdoches	129	104	52	50	14	349
Total	935	777	597	474	36	2,819

Recapitulation:

Spaniards ²	488	373	376	340		1,577
Indians	290	241	70	76		677
Mestizos ³	43	38	32	12		125
Color Quebrado ⁴	114	125	119	46		404
Negro slaves					36	36
Total	935	777	597	474	36	2,819

¹ No figures are given as the mission was temporarily abandoned.

² Includes 3 secular and 8 regular priests.

³ Half Indian and Spaniard.

⁴ Partly Indian.

APPENDIX D

POPULATION OF TEXAS MISSIONS

— 1793 —

Name of mission	Distance from Capital	Number of Souls
San Antonio de Valero	Capital	45
Nuestra Señora de la Concepción	1 league E.	51
San José de Aguayo	2 leagues S.	114
San Juan Capistrano	3 leagues S.	34
San Francisco de la Espada	3½ leagues S.	46
Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga	40 leagues S.E.	82
Nuestra Señora del Rosario	38 leagues S.E.	33
Nuestra Señora del Refugio	50 leagues S.E.	62
Total		467

APPENDIX E

ETHNOLOGICAL OUTLINE OF THE PRINCIPAL INDIAN TRIBES OF TEXAS

Texas was once peopled by a race of mankind who were completely erratic in their habits and customs. They left no written history behind them, and what is known of their lives and mode of living has been obtained from the narratives of the early explorers and missionaries.

Unfortunately, however, a scientific study of ethnology was not even thought of by our early writers, and besides a multitude of names of Indian tribes or "naciones" mentioned, but little concerning their languages has been transmitted to us, and as the true linguistic relation of many of the extinct tribes will always remain doubtful, the Author has classified the numerous native tribes of Texas into six classes: (1) The Agricultural, (2) Nomadic, (3) Composite, (4) Maritime, (5) Sedentary and (6) Pueblo.

AGRICULTURAL TRIBES of Northeast Texas

Inhabiting that part of the country lying inland, east of the Brazos River, which today is known as Northeast Texas belonged to the Caddoan Nation.

The principal tribes were:

A. Cadodachos

B. Hasinai (or Asinai) commonly known to the Spaniards as Indos Tejas ¹

To this confederation belonged:

1 The Nabadache

¹ The name *Tejas* (Texas) comes from the word *Techi* (Techa) meaning *amigo*, friend; and as the Hasinai Indians used this term in the plural to designate their associate tribes, the Spaniards on first coming in contact with the Indians erroneously understood this word to be the name of their tribe. Hence were the Hasinai named *Tejas* and their country called *Provincia de los Tejas*. This expression, if written out in full, would be *Provincia de los Indios Llamados Tejas*, meaning Province of the Indians called Texas; the masculine plural *los* making this point evident beyond any doubt.

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- 2 - Neches
- 3 - Nacoches
- 4 - Nacono
- 5 - Nacogdoche
- 6 - Nacao
- 7 - Nazones
- 8 - Nadaco

C. Adaes (or Adays)

D. Ays (or Ais)

With the exception of the last two named tribes, who had a dialect of their own, all spoke the Caddo language, and all of them were more or less advanced towards civilization; they lived in villages, cultivated the earth, planted corn, melons and beans, and raised poultry.

The Hasinai Indians had their principal villages along the upper Neches and Angelina Rivers. They were first encountered by Coronado, who called them Teyas, on his famous expedition to Quivira in 1541. Henry Joutel, who visited them after La Salle's death in 1688, described the Indians of the Nabadache tribe, as "generally handsome," but said they disfigured themselves by tattoo. The best and most interesting account of their tribal government, community interests, religion, superstitions and customs is given us by Padre Jesús María, a missionary who lived in their midst during 1691-1692. ²

AGRICULTURAL TRIBES

Of North Central Texas

Another group of agricultural tribes belonging to the Wichita confederacy, lived in villages along the Brazos and other streams in North Central Texas.

These tribes were known as:

- 1. The Taovayases
- 2. - Towacanies (or Tawakoni)
- 3. - Yscanis

The Taovayases lived along the Red River and spoke a similar language to the Tawakoni and Yscanis. The Tawakonis were reported under the name of Tagacuanes, to-

² Mrs. Lee C. Harby, *The Tejas: Their Habits, Government and Superstitions*. *Annual Report American Historical Association* for the year 1894, 63-82.

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gether with the Quichuixes, as inhabiting the country between the Navasota and Trinity Rivers, while the Yscanis had their villages along the eastern bank of the Trinity, seven leagues east of the Tawakoni. All of them raised maize, beans, melons and calabashes.

AGRICULTURAL TRIBES

Of Southeast Texas

Still another group of agricultural tribes known as

1. The Xaranames (or Jaranames)
2. - Tamiques

lived in the neighborhood of what is now the city of Victoria. They did not eat animal food excepting that of deer, cattle, fish, turkeys and other fowls. Their language was different from the nearby Karankawan tribes, a fact that was used as an argument for the founding of Rosario mission as a separate establishment for the latter tribes.

NOMADIC TRIBES

Of Western Texas

In this group are placed the Comanches, a powerful and well organized tribe of the Shoshonean Nation, who occupied the Northern and Northwestern portion of Texas, and the Apaches of the Athapascan Nation, who occupied the greater portion of Western Texas.

Lieutenant Anastacio de Mezières of Natchitoches, who had acquired great experience in dealing with Indians,³ regarded the Comanches as the only hostile tribe in Texas. He said it was a nation "surpassed by none in numbers, in modesty of dress, in hospitality to their guests, in humanity to their captives, or in bravery, which is so general that even in the women, the most virile sort of valor has been observed."

The Apaches lived along the San Saba, Llano and Pedernales Rivers, across and above the Colorado in autumn and winter, and in the Pecos region during summer,

³ Report dated San Antonio de Bejar, February 20, 1778; cited by Bancroft, *History of North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 660; see also Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*, II, 172-168.

APPENDIX E

where they were known as the Mescaleros. For years they were a ferocious tribe, and the most noted of warriors. They called themselves Shis Inday, or "men of the woods."

The Ypandis or Lipans, often called Lipan-Apaches, and sometimes Pelones, were also a numerous and roving tribe of stalwart Indians. They had fair hair, were generally handsome; and like the Apaches, they were armed with bows, arrows and lances.

Another Apache band were the Jumanos, who seem to have lived in many different parts of the country now occupied within the boundaries of Texas. They were first encountered by Antonio Espejo in 1582. The Jumanos have heretofore been regarded as of unknown affinity; in fact they have baffled the best ethnologists, but through recent investigations, it has been found that they were not alone in alliance with the Apaches, but that the name Jumano is also synonymous with Taovayas.

COMPOSITE TRIBES Of Central Texas

In this group are placed a number of tribes:

1. The Ervpiames (or Hyerbiapamos)
2. - Sanas
3. - Sijames
4. - Cavas
5. - Tojo
6. - Emet
7. - Mesquites
8. - Pamayas

who banded together during the greater part of the first half of the eighteenth century, for defence and protection against the Apaches, their bitter foes.

This aggregation immediately led to the formation of a large settlement known as Ranchería Grande, two or three leagues west of the Brazos River, above the junction of the San Xavier, now known as the San Gabriel River.

The Indians gave but little of their time to agriculture, but traded in skins, and made rafts of same with poles and reeds. They had dogs and horses and were great hunters and fighters.

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The settlement was closely associated with:

1. The Tancagues
2. - Yojuanes
3. - Mayeyes

of the Tonkawan linguistic group.

The Tancagues were an erratic tribe. Their speech had a peculiar clucking and they therefore expressed themselves more by signs. Their village in 1719 was reported near the Red River, but as they were wanderers, following the buffalo for a living, their range in later years was between the upper Trinity and Colorado Rivers.

The Yojuanes and Mayeyes had their settlements along the Brazos River, and they closely resembled the Tancagues in habits and manners.

MARITIME TRIBES

The Gulf Coast or tide water section of Texas, once harbored many indigenous tribes, who lived in pure hunter and fisherman state, painted and tattoed themselves and were engaged in continued warfare among themselves.

In the territory commencing along the coast of Louisiana and extending west to the mouth of the Trinity River, and further inland, lived:

1. The Attacapa
2. - Orcoquisacs (or Arkokisa)
3. - Bidais (or Vidais)
4. - Deadoses
5. - Patiri

all of whom belonged to the Atakapan linguistic family.

The Indians further to the South, inhabiting the coast to a point that is now Aransas Bay, belonged to the Karankawan linguistic family.

The principal tribes of this family were:

1. The Carancaguases (or Karankawa)
2. - Cujanes
3. - Guapites
4. - Coopanes
5. - Cocos

The Cocos were largely scattered and lived mainly along the lower Colorado and Brazos Rivers. They probably received their name from the Caddos, as kóko is a Caddo term and means water.

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The Karankawa Indians and their cognate tribes, were very fond of the mitote, a ceremonial dance, which served them for all celebrations. In the festive dance the Indians used a little drum made from a tortoise shell, a small flute of carrizo, which was softly blown in time to chant, and an ayacascle, a large gourd filled with small stones, which was frequently shaken. For the diabolical dance the instrument used was a cayman, a fluted piece of wood, which was held upon the knees of the player, over which a stick was quickly drawn, producing a drowning noise. For the said mitote the Indians built a large fire, around which they danced without ceasing, keeping the "fandango" up for three days and nights. The women never participated in these dances, but stayed at some distance in view of them, with their hair thrown over their faces, confused, and crying sorrowfully. The men painted themselves for the dance with vermillion and at times black, and jumping and dancing they looked like demons by the gestures, visages and contortions they made.⁴

THE SEDENTARY TRIBES OF THE SAN ANTONIO AND RIO GRANDE VALLEYS

Of considerable interest are the numerous small tribes that once inhabited the country along the upper San Antonio, Medina, Frio and Nueces Rivers, and down to the lower Rio Grande, previous to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Their food consisted principally of fish, tunas, mesquite beans, nuts and fruit; they planted little or nothing, in fact agriculture seems to have been unknown to them.

The more prominent tribes were:

1. The Payaya (or Piaia)
2. - Xarame (or Jarami)
3. - Pajalates (or Pachalaque)

⁴ Mrs. Alice W. Oliver, who witnessed a ceremonial dance of the Karankawa in later years, and from whose account, embodied in the work of Albert S. Gatschet, *The Karankawa Indians*, 15-20, the description of musical instruments was taken, gives the words of their cries in this dance as: "Ha'-i-yah, Ha'-i-yah; hai, hai'yah, hai'yah, hai'yah, hai." The first two words were shouted slowly, then a loud "hai;" then a succession of "hai'yahs" very rapidly uttered in chromatic ascending and descending tones, ending in an abrupt "hai" very loud and far reaching.

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4. - Pitalacs
5. - Pacaos
6. - Pacóas
7. - Orejones
8. - Tilijayas (or Tilijaes)
9. - Alasapas
10. - Pausanes
11. - Pacuaches
12. - Mescales
13. - Pampopas
14. - Tacames
15. - Chayopines
16. - Venados
17. - Pamaques (or Pamaches)
18. - Pihuiques (or Piguique)
19. - Borrados
20. - Sanipaos
21. - Manos de Perro

Some of these tribes extended over into Mexico, and although their universal mode of communicating with each other was the sign language, there were almost as many dialects spoken as there were names of tribes.⁵ Parts of these dialects have been preserved in the Manual of Padre Bartholomé García, although he did not state in what language he wrote,⁶ the family classification of these tribes has been put under the somewhat vague geographical designation of Coahuiltican.

⁵ According to Padre Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, *Condición de las Misiones*, MS., 1740, four of these dialects were in common use. One of them was a beautiful spoken language; another had the tone of "A Poor Beggar," while the remaining two were more serious and pronounced with greater difficulty.

⁶ Just a few words and kinship terms will convey an idea of the expression and combination of the words of this language:

Ajchiju, *little, few*; ajchijyocuen, *few times*; ajchijuche *there are few* (referring to some object); ajchijupa, *there are few* (people).

Apauj, *much, many in number*; apaujpam, *very much, very many in number*, apaujyocuen, *many times*; apaujpyocuen, *very many times*; apaujche, *there are many* (referring to some object); apauj'pa, *there are many* (people).

Apam, *son*; apalum, *daughter*.

Acuanitap, *older brother*; amacutzan, *younger brother*.

Atal, *older sister*; Ayat'an, *younger sister*.

Jagu, *man*; Tagu, *woman*; Cutatze, *priest*.

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The Payayas lived along the upper San Antonio River, apparently near the site of the present city of that name. They were the principal tribe for which the Mission San Antonio de Valero was founded, and they spoke the same language as the Xarames, whose home was along the Rio Grande, below the present City of Eagle Pass.

The Pajalates, Pitalacs and Pacaos, for whom the Missions of La Purísima Concepción, San Juan Capistrano and San Francisco de la Espada, were founded, originally lived along the Frio and Nueces Rivers. The Orejones and Tacames lived along the lower San Antonio and Nueces Rivers; the former were also the basis of the foundation of San Juan Capistrano, while the latter entered San Francisco de la Espada soon after its founding, but proved very troublesome by running away.

The Pampopas and the Tilijayas lived along the upper Nueces River, above the junction of the Rio Frio; the former to the north, the latter immediately below them. The Chavopines were earlier known as the Tiopines and in 1768 they were mentioned as living along the Rio Frio, but in 1780 their home was said to have been near the coast. The Pihuiques were closely related to the Pamaques, and together with the Venados, Borrados and Manos de Perro, they lived to the south of the San Antonio River, near the coast and along the Rio Grande.

In addition to the more important tribes already listed, a number of other "naciones" who had their habitat in Southwest Texas, are worthy of mention, namely:

1. The Siaguan (or Siaban)
2. - Papanque (or Papañaca)
3. - Payugan (or Payuhan)
4. - Texocodame
5. - Pastias
6. - Suliejames (or SuluJames)
7. - Tripas Blancas
8. - Pintos
9. - Manos Prietas
10. - Patumaco

Most of these tribes inhabited the northern banks of the Rio Grande, while others had their homes along the Nueces, Rio Hondo and Rio Frio.

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PUEBLO TRIBES

A sixth division for a few Pueblo Indians of the Tañóan Nation, namely:

1. The Tiguas (Tiguex)
2. - Peros

who migrated to Texas and established themselves in pueblos near the present city of El Paso, before the close of the seventeenth century, where they lived in houses built of sun-dried bricks, is included in this outline, as a matter of reference.

MAP OF TEXAS



Use this map as a visual help to reading. Lay the book flat, unfold the map, turn back to the page where you are reading.



MAP OF TEXAS DURING THE MISSION PERIOD

COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL DATA AND DRAWN
BY
EDWARD W. HEUSINGER, R.R.S.
SCALE: 100 MILES = 1 INCH
1915



NAVY



NAVY

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